

# The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the  
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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VOL. XXXV (No. 4)

APRIL, 1921

NO. 779

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## The Open Court Publishing Company

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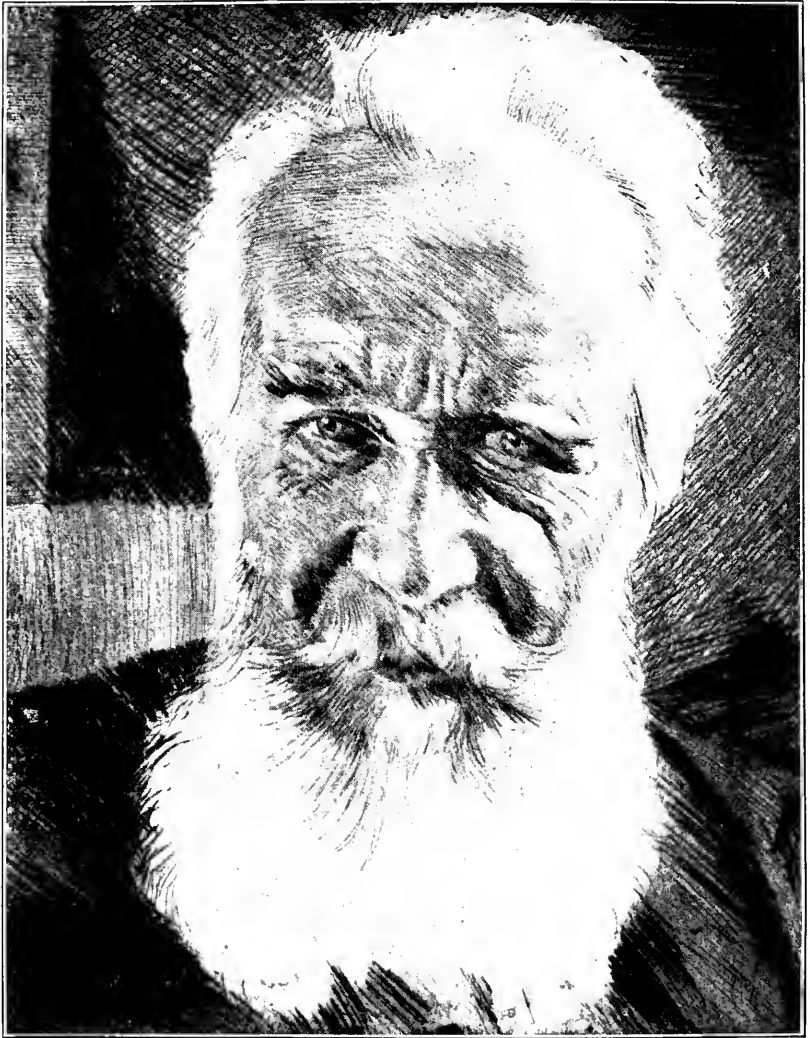
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ERNST HAECKEL.  
Etching by Karl Bauer.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## THE LEAR-TRAGEDY OF ERNST HAECKEL.

BY HERMAN GEORGE SCHEFFAUER.

"Huxley once said of me, that I was the Bismarck of zoology. I do not know if that be true. But if I am to have the honor of being compared to that great man, it must follow as a natural consequence in my destiny that I too am to be deposed in my old age from my place in the foundation that I have created."

*Ernst Haeckel, on Jan. 21, 1910.*

ERNST Haeckel, the last of the great Darwinians, died on August ninth, 1919. During the days and the weeks following, solemn memorial services took place in halls, schools and groves in Germany. Goethe's invocation to *Gott-Natur* rolled forth in measured recitative. Requiems were played and chorals were sung. Altars to the immortality of his labors arose, decked in green and black. The benign face of the sage, snow-white of hair and beard, gazed down from countless walls and tribunes upon the throngs that came to do him the last honors as master and as man.

He had gone to his rest in a dark hour. His country's fate oppressed him. But this Luther of Science, one of the last Great Ones of the nineteenth century, had departed, as all men thought, bearing no other burden than the fullness of days, had fallen asleep like a weary king with a crown overheavy with honor, throned on a pyramid of incomparable achievement. He had fought many battles, even with Church and Kaiser in his passionate crusade for scientific truth. But was not his old age beautiful, sunny and serene?

Up to his death few in his own land and perhaps no one among his millions of followers abroad knew of the personal tragedy which had embittered his last years, the grim feud with one whom he had

royally benefited, or of the scandal in the idyllic old university town of Jena, the battle for his dignity and peace of mind, even his good name and honor.

This sordid Golgotha which Haeckel was forced to climb, this gauntlet of ingratitude, pedantic-Torquemadaism, and incredible bureaucratic harshness, has been called the "Lear-Tragedy" of Haeckel's last years. It has broken beyond the confines of the university and of Jena and has lately aroused a Germany torpid with its own griefs. It has brought about a bitter fight in the newspapers between two of Haeckel's pupils—Prof. Ludwig Plate, his successor and persecutor, and Dr. Adolf Heilborn, his champion—the publication of pamphlets and a trial before the District Court of Jena, whose judgment against Professor Plate has just been sustained by a higher court at Leipzig. The quarrel has been furthermore complicated by party strife among certain newspapers, Professor Plate being an active anti-Semite.

On August seventeenth, 1920, Dr. Heilborn in an article in the *Berliner Tageblatt* threw down a public gage to Professor Plate. A man of distinguished scientific prestige, Professor Plate had been appointed to the important chair of Zoölogy upon Haeckel's own recommendation. The old scientist saw in him his most gifted pupil and took no heed of the warnings he had received against his personal character. Ingratitude, petty persecution and aspersions, a systematized torture of his venerable master,—these were the charges brought against him by Dr. Heilborn. He declared that Professor Plate had turned the last decade of Haeckel's life into a martyrdom. Professor Plate's reply was a suit for libel. Thereupon Dr. Heilborn published his accusing pamphlet.\*

This ordeal was hidden even to many of Haeckel's friends and it is said that he begged them to maintain silence respecting it. I myself had been in personal touch and correspondence with the master ever since the friendship we struck up in 1904, and to me he had written only a hint of his troubles. When my wife and I visited him in December 1915, he seemed, though greatly aged, to be his old happy and exuberant self. Only the shadow of the war and the wreck of the great hopes he had built up for mankind, darkened his spirits. It is true that he spoke vaguely of unpleasant relations with his successor.

For almost two generations Ernst Haeckel had carried on his teachings at Jena, as well as the Directorship of the Zoölogical

\* *Die Lear-Tragödie Ernst Haeckels*, Dr. Adolf Heilborn, Hoffmann & Campe, Berlin-Hamburg.



Institute and the Phyletic Museum. Generously and in absolute trust he gave all these honors and offices into the hands of his former pupil, Dr. Ludwig Plate of Berlin, on April first, 1909. Haeckel, though capable of a stout intellectual belligerency, was of a child-like ingenuousness of soul: he remained the simple-hearted and unsophisticated scientist, the poet, the scientific devotee of Nature to his last days and a lamentably poor judge of men and character. And who more Christian in his practice than this great anti-Christ of Evolution?

Haeckel had written Professor Plate on March twentieth, 1919:

“I write once more to reassure you that it is with the greatest confidence that I place the entire organization in your hands and that I shall always subordinate my plans to your own—which have proved themselves to be so much better in practise.”

Professor Plate replied, obsequiously, but with stunted admiration:

“Your Honored Excellency:

Under date of December tenth, 1908, the Ministry of Education at Weimar has sent me my appointment to the Chair of Zoölogy at Jena, which you have occupied with such great success for more than forty-eight years. In heartily thanking Your Excellency for the great trust which you have shown in your old pupil, and in promising to further our branch of science to the best of my ability in the sense of a liberal research in the theory and teaching of Evolution, I shall esteem it a particular pleasure as the Director of the Phyletic Museum, to give Your Excellency the use of the three rooms desired in the upper story (archive-room, library and study) and to equip the Museum with your cooperation and according to your intentions.

Your most sincere and devoted

Ludwig Plate.”

One of the first acts of the officious Professor Plate, after having ensconced himself in the chair of his great master, was to demand that Haeckel should immediately vacate his study in the Zoölogical Institute. The aged scientist was at that time suffering from a severe attack of rheumatism. As Haeckel's faithful old servant Pohle relates amidst tears and objurgations, it was necessary to carry Haeckel to the Instituté, where the precipitate removal took place amidst immense discomfort and confusion. In two days, however, all the books, documents, manuscripts, etc., were installed

in the Phyletic Museum. Plate once more appeared and declared that he would require the assistant's room for the purpose of installing 84 cases full of living mice for experimental purposes! Haeckel protested against this desecration of the handsome new structure and the unbearable smell and dirt which the mice would occasion and suggested that they be installed in the Ceylon Room in the Zoölogical Institute. This, however, did not suit Plate, as they would then have been in too close proximity to *his* laboratory! Haeckel pointed out that the Phyletic Museum had been his own individual foundation, had cost him ten years of work and the greater part of his fortune, and that it was destined for other purposes than mice-breeding. Under the circumstances it was reasonable that he, its founder, should have something to say in the matter of the arrangements.

Professor Plate, touched to the quick of his petty and drill-sergeant dignity, exclaimed grandiosely: "Since April first, *I* am the sole Director of the Phyletic Museum and you must submit unconditionally to all my orders!"

This led to a wordy battle in which the white-haired Haeckel expressed his grief and anger at this offensive and unwarranted behavior. He is said to have exclaimed: "You are a Shylock and insist upon your bond." As soon as the matter became known, all Jena glowed with indignation, and this was so great in university circles that Dr. Plate suddenly felt himself isolated and ostracized. This new and bristling broom was bent on achieving a reputation for "making a clean sweep of things." His favorite *bête noire* was the Library of the Zoölogical Institute—to a large extent composed of donations of Haeckel's and kept in good order.

Haeckel had proposed that three rooms in the upper story of the Phyletic Museum be reserved for his personal use during his lifetime—as a study and library, and an archive-room for the preservation of artworks, manuscripts and other personal souvenirs after his death. Surely a modest request, this, in view of the fact that Haeckel was practically the founder and donor of this institute. Professor Plate, however, stubbornly opposed this concession, and yielded only after the District Court had formally declared it to be an integral provision of the donation.

The venerable Haeckel expressed his relief at this and departed for Baden-Baden to take the waters. Professor Plate, assuming a friendliness he did not feel, now devised a new instrument of torture for his former master. Grubbing among paid bills and book-lists of the preceding twenty years, he had discovered that a certain

number of volumes were missing from the library of the Institute and that these were either in Haeckel's home or in the Phyletic Museum. In tactless and offensive language, making the utmost use of his formal rights, he issued a demand for the return of these works.

It was eminently natural that a genius such as Haeckel, despite his infinite attention to scientific detail, should be free of the meticulousness of a pedagogic machine in the smaller affairs of daily life. He was occasionally afflicted with a slight dash of the *laissez-faire* of the artist, for artist at heart he was. And the unworldliness and abstractedness of the professor likewise clung to him. What more natural than that he should make use of his privilege of purchasing such books as he needed for his studies, or that he should occasionally fail to have one stamped or returned to the Institute Library? It must not be forgotten that the Zoölogical Institute itself was established by Haeckel, who had donated his entire sociological library to it, as well as thousands of volumes that were sent him regularly from all parts of the world. He had also arranged a system of exchanges. His bills for books had been revised yearly by the Government and found correct. Donations, legacies, gifts were showered upon the University of Jena through Haeckel's activity. What Goethe had been to Weimar, that Haeckel was to Jena. Haeckel replied briefly to Professor Plate's pettifogging accusations. By return post a still more aggressive letter, dated May twentieth, 1909, full of veiled threats and reproaches, swooped upon him like some ill-omened raven.

The effect of this onslaught upon Haeckel's delicate nerves and sensitive spirit was devastating. Professor Plate's blows and incessant poisonous pin-pricks were beginning to tell upon him. The old man finally summoned up strength enough to reply to his tormentor—on June fourth,—in a letter of such nobility of feeling and calm dignity, that anyone but a hide-bound fanatic, rivetted to the letter of the law, would have been touched by it and remained silent. No trace of the reverence due a world-famous master from his comparatively obscure pupil, not even of the courtesy due an older man from a younger, is visible. The intimation he makes is crass and clear. Haeckel is supposed to have *filched* the missing books! During Haeckel's absence Dr. Plate had even gone so far as to have a key made to Haeckel's exclusive private rooms in the Phyletic Museum! By means of this he had entered these rooms and had gone burrowing among all the papers and manuscripts of the great biologist.

Further acrimonious and unedifying differences demanded the judicial intervention, and decision of Dr. Vollert, the Curator of the University. Dr. Plate, the slave of implacable "devotion to duty" whines of the "great wrong done him by Haeckel," of the "false game he had played" and allots to himself the mantle of magnanimity in extending the hand of forgiveness because of Haeckel's great services to science and because Haeckel had once been his teacher. Jena grew hotter and hotter for Professor Plate, and although indurated to disfavor, he seriously contemplated resignation.

In a letter to his friend and pupil, Dr. Wilhelm Breitenbach, (July seventh, 1909) Haeckel wrote:

"Actually I have surrendered everything (with the exception of these three rooms) to my successor in office, who is certainly by far my superior as a talented teacher, a splendid speaker and a practical Director of the Institute—surrendered everything which I had created in the course of my forty-eight years of activity as a teacher here in Jena." He adds that "this horrible fight extending over three months—now definitely decided in my favor by the Ministry and the University—has injured me greatly in body and mind. After this saddest of all my experiences, I shall withdraw myself entirely and seek solace in common with Mother Nature, ever benign and faithful, and in my artistic pastimes, the writing of my memoirs and the like."

Professor Plate in an article published in a review called *Die Umschau*, declared: "It is untrue that our conflict was decided in favor of Haeckel by the Ministry and the University. On the contrary he was forced to keep the oral and written promises he had made, namely that I was to be the sole Director of the Museum, and he was also obliged to return the books of which he had illegally possessed himself. . . . Haeckel had reserved the three rooms in the Museum only for his personal 'use,' but subsequently he demanded that after his death they were to remain as he had arranged them. He wished to establish here a kind of 'Goethe House' to himself. Later on he voluntarily gave up this plan and surrendered these rooms to me, whereupon my protest was withdrawn."

The spirit of this casuistic self-justification is clear—the words are adroitly chosen and the aged Haeckel's illegal practices cunningly suggested. The allusion to the Goethe House is an example of Professor Plate's delicate epistolary manner and the adroit "voluntarily" an ironic mockery of the tragedy of an old man, a travesty of his spiritual suffering.

Dr. Heilborn, who visited Haeckel in the summer of 1909, was

startled at the change in his appearance; the harrow of grief had gone over him all too heavily.

For ten long years this silent yet fatal feud cast its shadow over Ernst Haeckel. If Dr. Heilborn's comparison of Haeckel with King Lear be too strong there were at least parallels in the fate of the two kingly greybeards which must be obvious to all. Both had given up everything, reserving only a few small requisites. Both learned "how sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless child"—or pupil. In Haeckel's case two personalities, two ages, two philosophies of life had clashed with each other—Haeckel, the generous pantheistic spirit and lover of nature—Plate, the rigid and frigid pedagogue and specialist—the one the child-like poet and enthusiast, the other the correct, meticulous official—philosopher against bureaucrat, the expansive searcher and creator against the narrow organizer and director.

When asked how this almost pathological rancor of Professor Plate's was to be explained, Haeckel had once said:

"I do not know. Presumably it is ambition accentuated almost to a disease, perhaps the oppressive feeling that he cannot attain to full validity beside me. And yet there is no reason why he should fear this. For Plate is an efficient scholar and above all—something which I have never been—an excellent teacher. In this connection I cannot sufficiently praise him. Were it otherwise I should never have proposed him as my successor. Moreover, the Institute which I created out of nothing—which I raised to one of the most honored in all Germany,—I have permitted to go to seed, as he declares—so that it was necessary for him to establish order. Well, I shall be glad if he improves things—for natural science will profit thereby."

Dr. Heinrich Schmidt, the director of the Haeckel archives, proved that Professor Plate was congenitally incapable of understanding a man of genius. The famous Swiss psychologist Prof. Otto Binswanger, declared Haeckel's persecutor to be a "malicious psychopathic."

During these bitter years Haeckel worked almost entirely in his home, the "Villa Medusa"—writing his last works, painting water-colors and dictating his memoirs. Now and again his faithful old servant Pohle would fetch him books from the Institute or Museum—Dr. Plate handing them out only upon the signing of a receipt, and demanding their return as soon as the lending period had expired!

When Haeckel's eightieth birthday came, on April fourth, 1914, and the whole world showered honors and congratulations upon him,

Dr. Plate remained dumb and even left on a long voyage so as not to be present at the university festivities.

After Haeckel's death, his former pupil adopted an attitude of what may be called pragmatic magnanimity:

"Haeckel permitted me to look deeply into the recesses of his heart, and what I saw there was surely not always edifying. He was no saint, and he who regards every line and every action of his as the expression of infallible wisdom and virtue, will be doomed to severe disillusion and will deliver him into the hands of his numerous opponents. Where there is much light there is also much shadow. His weaknesses, in my opinion, are only small, disturbing spots in a great painting rich in colors and figures. They cannot darken Haeckel's greatest achievement—the unprecedented success with which he labored for the extension of scientific thought. For this reason I have remained silent concerning Haeckel's attitude towards me, something which constitutes the most painful disillusion of my entire life."

After Heilborn's disclosures, Professor Plate felt himself called upon to "reveal the whole truth." He went so far as to accuse Haeckel of deliberately misappropriating the funds of the Institute in order to buy books for himself and friends and even hinted indirectly at worse things—at scandal—belief in which, of course, he virtuously and indignantly repudiated. It need only be said that Haeckel's indifference to money was so great that on more than one occasion I found him perfectly disinterested in the value of the English and American rights of some of his books.

In reply to a letter which I had written Professor Plate, expressing my indignation at his treatment of Haeckel, I received an answer, dated December sixth, 1920. The general spirit of his reply amply supports the charge brought against him by Dr. Heilborn. After denying that he was in any way under obligations to Haeckel, Dr. Plate proceeds to declare that he had damaged his position and his income in every way by leaving Berlin and going to Jena. He then strives to cast an oblique pity upon himself and a jibe at Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe*—a book which—quite overlooking its absolutely unprecedented success and influence,—he declared "unloosed a storm of indignation throughout the world." Nay, he goes further than this and ventures to repeat some of the unfounded slanders circulated against Haeckel by his clerical and scientific enemies—respecting his alleged "forgeries" of certain evolutionary plates—slanders long since refuted. "To be the successor of such a man, is surely not exactly pleasant," remarks the virtuous

Professor, as though he had just bethought himself of the heritage of crime left by some malefactor which he had been seduced into accepting in the simplicity of his soul.

"Even the judge,—" he continues, "who was a venerator of Haeckel's, acknowledged that no thanks were due Haeckel from me—the same is true of Haeckel's friend, Privy Councillor Rosenthal. It is my opinion that I made a sacrifice for Haeckel's sake (something which he also acknowledged), because I valued his scientific achievements and because so far as the main points are concerned, I follow the same path he pursued in the Study of Evolution. I was therefore all the more indignant when Haeckel, after I had settled in Jena, *fulfilled none of his promises*. There is no doubt that he played me false, just as previously in Hamman's case."

Hamman, a so-called "pious biologist," had been an assistant to Haeckel and differences had arisen between them. There can be no doubt that despite the open-heartedness, the sunny and boyish *insouciance* of Haeckel and his ardour in the search for truth, his temperament sometimes betrayed him in his relations with his colleagues, as his imagination sometimes betrayed him in his daring scientific hypotheses. To expect that the great should not be human must be left to a hierarchy of academic pharisees such as Professor Ludwig Plate, in whom not the counsel to, but the realization of perfection has become possible. If one be permitted to draw another Shakespearian parallel, there can be no doubt that, according to his lights, this stiff, straight pedagogue is like Brutus, an "honorable man." And yet by the sheer preponderance of human character, essential greatness and the force of an upright nature, the personal and scientific honor of Ernst Haeckel, one of the greatest pillars of our modern enlightenment, remain unsmirched and unshaken.

## ON CHERISHED FALLACIES OF TENDER MINDS.

BY T. SWANN HARDING.

THERE is something amazingly inspiring about a person who boldly, bravely, unalterably and even nonchalantly does good for the sake of good and persists at the task in a determined and unswerving manner. Compared to this person the weak individual who must needs postulate gods and demons and punishments eternal and rewards everlasting—casting into objective form his purely subjective fancies because the process pleases him—is a poor piece of clay indeed.

William James has divided people into the tough and the tender minded. Let those bold persons above be then tough minded; let that other class, composed of those timorous souls of instinctive mental processes who absorb fallacy as the bread of life, and who regard their toughened fellows with a mixture of awe, hatred and contempt—let them be for us the tender minded. And it is quite true that to do good for the sake of doing good is no more rational or logical than to do evil for the sake of doing evil; but those hardy souls who stand like sentinels of virtue in a wicked world, without hope of reward and without fear of punishment; who persist in a course of action altogether *sui compos*, who manage to "suspend belief in the presence of an emotionally exciting idea,"<sup>1</sup> who are impervious to vituperation and immune to fallacy—these people are irritating beyond all peradventure to say the very least!

A man long since sicklied o'er with the pale cast of effeminacy and weakness lent by insipid religious dogma was of that type—the man Jesus. For he said in effect: "For the sake of ideals I shall live a life of pure idealism. You may say that it is impractical; you may insist that it is irrational; you may prove that it is useless. You may persecute me, revile me, condemn me, spit upon me, scourge me—yea, you may crucify me. Yet shall I defy you. For I

<sup>1</sup> William James, *Principles of Psychology*.



shall live pure idealism and shall show that this can be done for no other reward than the triumph of having done so." In a measure he reflected the aloofness from materialistic misfortune Epictetus had taught. Here were two souls toughened against the soporific fallacies which do numb the minds and stimulate the hearts of those of us who falter and stammer along, continually under the influence of some psychic alkaloid.

These psychic alkaloids, these cherished fallacies of tender minds, are the aspects objective reality is made to wear under the impress of our subjective beliefs. For we do have an overwhelming tendency to believe what it pleases us to believe. So much so that A. Clutton-Brock correctly quotes Nietzsche as saying that "all our beliefs are but efforts to make ourselves comfortable in a universe that is indifferent to us."<sup>2</sup> The universe is indifferent to us; its laws work out unalterably regardless of the wishes of puny man. But man rises superior to the universe by possessing the magic faculty of convincing himself that things are as he wishes them to be! There is no evil that has not somehow been demonstrated to be good; there is no torture that has not by someone been looked upon as a pleasure; there is nothing in the gamut from unpleasantness to catastrophe which cannot be regarded as a blessing in disguise if such fallacy makes us more comfortable. .

"To die is gain!" cried Paul in ecstasy, and to die for Christ's sake has ever been an approved pleasure, however superficial and however certainly vicarious that approval be on the part of the nodding limousine congregation napping at some fashionable first church. Mackenzie<sup>3</sup> has explained how we at first find pleasure only in sensuous excitement, to evolve on through the stage of the more reflective Epicureans to attain, in some cases, the point where physical agony and mental distress are looked upon as the keenest pleasures. The frantic flagellants of an earlier age knew this art to perfection and enjoyed it hugely. The poet who sang "grow old along with me, the best is yet to be" was well versed in the process of convincing himself that things were really as he wished them to be. The mourner at the bier of one much beloved who asserts that 'twas better so after all finds solace in the same method, so great is our power to believe what we please in spite of adverse circumstances.

Dr. Johnson says somewhere that "Every man, however hopeless his pretensions may appear to all but himself, has some project

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Clutton-Brock, *Studies in Christianity*.

<sup>3</sup> J. S. Mackenzie, *Elements of Constructive Philosophy*.

by which he hopes to rise in reputation; some art by which he imagines that the notice of the world will be attracted; some quality good or bad which discriminates him from the common herd of mortals, and by which others might be persuaded to love or compelled to fear him." That would have been said at this point in other words had it not been discovered said more effectively by the Doctor. It fitly illustrates another aspect of the tendency under discussion.

There is indeed ample reason to think that the wish is largely father to the thought—at least that a desire to believe what we are pleased to believe, rather than conviction of a more logical character holds true—in the case of such matters as the belief in God, in immortality, in cosmic progress and in the ultimate triumph of the good. We do not deny any of these things; they may every one of them be true in an absolute sense; but we should face the fact that nothing produces such conviction as a simple, but intense, desire to believe which we more euphonistically christen "intuition" or something still more profound.

For instance, nothing produces so tremendous a belief in personal immortality as does the death of one near and dear to us. Even notorious skeptics of the coldest mentality have weakened in the face of such a tragedy, while poets and prose writers under stress of grief produce lines bearing the stamp of deep conviction. As we hear it said over and over again—without the persistence of personal consciousness all is lunacy and unreason. It seems harsh and irrational that we should live here but a little while, growing, developing, forming friendships and attaining certain ends, only to be snuffed out suddenly like a light that is no longer wanted, and without the remotest possibility of ever meeting our kind again.

And it does seem harsh and cruel; but the fact of its seeming so would make it none the less true, if true it was. Perhaps it seems impossible to believe this largely because we are conscious of the ruthless disregard the theory shows for vaunting human pride; yet consciousness itself is but a refinement of an instinct which we share with the lower animals, and the animal sees no injustice in annihilation merely because he has escaped this psychic development.

In spite of our comforting beliefs Schopenhauer may perfectly well be right. We may be "like lambs in a field, disporting ourselves under the eye of the butcher, who choses out first one and then another for his prey." And it may very well be possible that even "though things have gone with us tolerably well, the longer we live the more clearly we feel that, on the whole, life is a disappointment, nay, a cheat." Not that we claim life is necessarily an "unprofitable

episode disturbing the blessed calm of non-existence," but that it may quite as well be so for all that intuitive conviction founded upon desire alone is worth.<sup>4</sup> Certain it is that if death be followed by a single day or hour of total unconsciousness, it had quite as well be followed by an eternity thereof for all we should ever know about it; for in unconsciousness a day is no longer than an hour and a thousand years are but a day.

It is quite certain also that we have no standard of absolute value by which to measure the progress of the world. Who shall weigh the mechanics of to-day against the philosophy of Greece; who shall weigh the science of to-day against the religion of the Hebrews; who shall weigh the stupendous material achievements of the modern against the matchless art of the ancient? True enough we can see progress if we incline ourselves to see it. Schopenhauer remarked in a letter to Goethe that truth is so seldom found because we are much more intent upon finding some preconceived opinion of our own. We can well enough observe cosmic evolution if it pleases us to do so just as the confirmed optimist can always find good in evil, given his own peculiar values. Nietzsche founded an iconoclastic philosophy by merely reversing popular values.

We can see the triumph of good over evil in any particular instance if we sufficiently desire to do so. We can sanctimoniously carry on a horrible inquisition or we can complacently murder Aztecs and Incas wholesale, immediately after administering a sacrament, and do all to the glory of God and for the triumph of the good. We can brace ourselves through a war more terrible than any the world has ever seen with the pious thought that we fight for right; and then we can make a predatory peace which contravenes every noble ideal we espoused and every upward aspiration of the human soul, and yet persuade ourselves that good has triumphed.

And so we go incorrigibly along. We find ourselves somewhat lonely at times in this vast and rather antagonistic universe; hence we are apt to postulate some Great Companion who guides our steps, whose guardian angels preside over our lives, whose cosmos graciously withholds its drastic laws for our protection and whose compassion ultimately refines us into perfect beings composed of equal parts of George Washington and an Idealized Allied soldier, thus to live out monotonous eons of undiluted bliss. Out of the loneliness of the human heart cometh God, and the modern god-makers recently analyzed in the *Unpartisan*<sup>5</sup>—Reeman, Wells and G. A.

<sup>4</sup> Schopenhauer, *On the Sufferings of the World*.

<sup>5</sup> *Unpartisan Review*, Jan.-Feb., 1920, "The War and the God-Makers."

Studdert Kennedy—to whom may be added William James and John Stuart Mill and, perhaps, Frederic Harrison et al, merely continue the process more intellectually and more fastidiously and postulate some unique kind of finite or limited liability deity who suits their particular purpose.

The war brought out two interesting aspects of the ability of mankind to believe what pleases them. Previous to the war the custom of looking charitably upon one's enemy was growing with sufficient rapidity to alarm the ubiquitous militarists who thrived in all nations. Certain it is that the German was universally regarded as rather learned, rather stupid, rather innocuous and absolutely harmless; scientifically he was worshiped, personally he was amusing. Furthermore the belief in immortality was distinctly on the wane, and the escapades of the Society for Psychical Research were viewed with tolerant amusement, scarcely with hatred or contempt, for they were not of sufficient importance to menace our soul's comfort; and an opinion must threaten something about which we are not indifferent before we are moved to declare it dangerous license instead of justifiable liberty.

At this point came the war. Almost immediately we ourselves became the vicars of right on earth, paragons of truth incarnate, guiltless of wrong before God and man and the heavenly appointed crusaders of Deity for justice and other high sounding virtues. Our enemy—and of course this held true whether "we" were Teutons or of the Allied nations—became fiends diabolical, incapable of anything right or true or good or noble and deserving only to be exterminated from the earth like the pests which plagued Egypt of old. The eyes of the Anglo-Saxon professors who had grasped at coveted and much prized decorations bestowed by William Hohenzollern in his palmy days were opened and they cast these filthy baubles from them in fine disdain. So also were the eyes of the professors of Germany opened and they penned a rousing creed of spleen which rivaled in childish bitterness the super-ludicrous Hymn of Hate and the Allied newspaper editorials. And why all this? Was it not because it pleased us humans, with our boasted reason, to so believe? A Daniel come to judgment said, "Give an intellectual any ideal and any evil passion and he will always succeed in harmonizing the twain."<sup>6</sup>

We who had been taught ethics in the light of the Ten Commandments must bolster our robbing, our lying, our killing and our reversal of the morality of civil life by assuming our enemy possessed

<sup>6</sup> Romain Rolland, *Above the Battle*.

of all the most degraded passions of our own subconscious minds. For in such cases we are essentially projecting our own subconscious evil outwardly and objectively.<sup>7</sup> In popular parlance the Kaiser was made an outward symbol upon which were fixed all the unconscious capacities for evil of many thousands; "in their mental picture he is surrounded by a glamour of fear and hatred, such as properly belongs to no human being but only to some fantasy of the unconscious."

Secondly there came with the war, born of lonely vigils beside the chair forever vacant, a recrudescence of barbarism and superstition. For not only was the more legitimate intuitive faith in immortality universally strengthened, but thousands of minds turned toward the most crude spiritism for proofs of what they frantically desired to believe. Facts well known to abnormal psychology and scientifically classified under dissociated consciousness and secondary personalities, were reinterpreted in the light of preconceived desires, and fiction more elaborate than that of inspired genius was produced by the disordered fancy of former scientists. We reverted to the days of primitive credulity, of belief in "mana," of association purely by contiguity, and it was the heyday of those perspicacious minds which hold that "pink pills" more effectually cure "pale people" than do white pills of precisely the same chemical composition.

Not, be it understood, that there do not exist facts which cannot as yet be fully explained by science, facts which may point to personal immortality. The point is that hosts of people to whom immortality was a mere thoughtless affirmation, or who, if they thought at all, were inclined to postpone to most remote future the eternal bliss reserved for them, now suddenly became passionate in their conviction, grasped at any straw to support that conviction and did all of this because, in the presence of tragedy it pleased and comforted them to do so. The facts were well known; they had existed and been ridiculed by these same people for years; but with "the will to believe" what a change in them!

It was said that immortality had become a mere pious affirmation. It is another of our vagaries to cling tenaciously to institution and forms of belief long after they have ceased to be animated by the spirit of life, and then to smile at the Englishman for his slavery to precedence! Go to the movies, if your digestive apparatus is abnormally strong, and observe the moron rabble as it loudly acclaims the triumph of conventional virtue—however absurd and inherently unlikely that triumph—at the end of a series of episodes:

<sup>7</sup> M. K. Bradby, *Psycho-Analysis, and Its Place in Life*, Chaps. 13, 14.

shaving as near to the prohibitive as the censorship permits. Just so long as everything finally conforms to the publicly accepted standard of morality, all is well; otherwise all is something that rhymes well with well. True enough the private morality of these very people is a different matter. Pope described immorality as a monster so hideous that to see it is to hate it. Francis Thompson adds that the implication is plain—as long as it is kept unseen, well and good!<sup>8</sup> That this rude crowd blandly shatters the conventional code when expedient; that it is even aware of the fact that the code is an empty form, makes no difference whatever. The film or the play or the book must outwardly and superficially conform to the accepted mandate of conventional morality and traditional theology or what Francis Hackett aptly calls “the invisible censor”<sup>9</sup> steps in to repress and to banish.

And why again? Because it pleases us to think, as did those self-satisfied Pharisees that Christ so superbly tongue-lashed, that the whited sepulchre is an admirable piece of architecture, and that so long as outward forms are punctiliously observed, other things will automatically take care of themselves. Because it pleases us to ignore our own eternal sense of values and to abide by an external set which cannot mean to any one of us what it meant to the few who originally made the mistake of codifying it. A Clutton-Brock has well said that “since few of us act upon the religious dogmas of Christ, we may conjecture that they fail to mean to us what they meant to him, that for us they are often as untrue as the enemies of Christianity assert them to be.”<sup>10</sup>

Or, to express the same idea a little differently, this vagary is due to the restrictions upon our mental activities which are imposed at the very beginning of our respective careers by our instruction. The ideas and the information given to us in our early years, the creeds inculcated and the antipathies aroused, a “selection which under any other circumstances whatever would have been different,”<sup>11</sup>—these things mould us and in great measure make us please to believe certain other things which can be congruously knit to them. Thus we pass through the world believing what pleases us, espousing the causes which support our preconceived notions, ignoring the facts which have an unpleasant habit of perverseness and obstinacy and, finally, emptying the vials of wrath upon the heads of those luckless

<sup>8</sup> Francis Thompson, *A Renegade Poet*.

<sup>9</sup> Francis Hackett, “The Invisible Censor,” *New Republic*, Dec., 3, 1919.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Frederick J. Teggart, *The Processes of History*.

individuals who presume to think differently about matters regarding which the absolute truth is unknown.<sup>12</sup> When the truth does become known, if it ever does in the sense of our attaining an absolutely terminal experience the word truth would be a misnomer, for these experiences would then be real, "they would simply *be*."<sup>13</sup>

Yet how good it makes things if they appear in an accustomed guise and in a manner to conform to our pet notions. There rests in memory a picture of King Rami of Siam wending his way to the Royal Wat and standing at the shrine in meditation while his awed subjects watch him breathlessly and a slave chases madly by to irritate His Highness with a large umbrella. There he stands, but how out of place in these Eastern surroundings! For 'tis khaki of the latest cut he wears and he resembles more than anything else some corpulent American swivel-chair colonel; certainly his appearance is ages away from that of an oriental potentate. Yet, doubtless, to our fallacy laden minds he becomes, in looking thus, very civilized, very refined, very advanced. For he looks quite as we do, so uniformed, and that goes a long way with us.

Furthermore in those we like we pretend to find our own sense of values just as we surely discover abominations in those we do not like. Yet, "if we could look into the minds of those furthest away from us, of the Chinese, or even of the wildest savages, we should find that they shared our conceit as well as our values, and that to them we seemed cold and inhuman."<sup>14</sup> These cherished values of ours are after all rather universal; nor are those we love so good, or those we hate so bad as we choose to make them. Yet how we resent it when our pet convictions are menaced and how bitterly we snarl at those hardy souls who, to our great discomfort, persist in the pursuit of truth for truth's sake!

Or perhaps it had better be stated that we can only become properly horrified and angry when the matter is one of essential importance. It has been truly and pithily said that "The dividing line between liberty and license is now, as it always has been, the line between those things about which we are comparatively indifferent and those which we regard as of supreme importance."<sup>15</sup> And the "monster of iniquity" who dares advocate any opinion on these matter which is adverse to our own conclusions merits a punishment which can scarcely be too severe.

<sup>12</sup> Emerson, *Intellect*.

<sup>13</sup> William James, "The Essence of Humanism" in *The Meaning of Truth*.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, 2.

<sup>15</sup> M. Jay Flannery, "Liberty and License, *Open Court*, Dec., 1919.

These days of moribund Christianity (regarding it as an instituted religion) we can view with considerable complacency, not to say apathy, quite dubious theological opinion. Not long ago the President of the American Unitarian Association, the President of the American Association of Rabbis and the president of an orthodox, though liberal, theological seminary spoke from the pulpit of a Methodist church at one and the same meeting. But, they tell us, this means broadmindedness and freedom of thought. Can we be certain that it does not mean sectarianism gone to seed and growing indifference? Ask these same people to listen to some lukewarm political liberal who finds slight glimmerings of truth in the soviet idea and you may discover how broadminded they are—provided you are not fatally injured in the rush to tar and feather him. But, they say, Bolshevism is—oh well it is described correctly by any adjective that can be applied to what we do not like—anarchistic, infidel, irrational, a menace to democracy, etc., etc. True. Nor does one have to be very old to remember the time when liberal theology, the mild liberalism of Emerson for instance, was all of these terrible things. But of course sectarianism was then a matter of high importance. To-day nationalism has largely taken its place.

And anything that menaces the status of things as they are in so far as it is important to us to have them as they are, is hated, reviled, persecuted and suppressed; the effort is made to gas it out of existence with talk if mere reasoning is ineffective. In France, Barbusse and Rolland and Thomas and Anatole France are annihilated by a caricature in *Fantasio*; in Australia, straight Australian doctrine and the tendency away from the empire is wiped out by refusing Dr. Mannix a hall in which to speak; in America—but why speak of America when we can much more pleasantly condemn other people? And of course history shows that error persists forever if upheld by the powers that be, and that truth may readily be persecuted out of existence as was Christianity. Not to say that Bolshevism, for instance, is true; but, if it is, measures of repression are powerless.

There was once a man who held that the gods worshiped by the people he lived among were rather childish beings and that this crude religion of theirs might well be refined and evolve into something nobler and better. He taught them that there were mightier truths than silly myths and that it would be a good idea to attend to them. He perverted the young men of his city by teaching them to believe in ideals which have come down to us through the ages as the purest and the best. But in doing this he told some people what



they did not want to know and what they did not find it pleasant to believe; therefore they hated him and eventually found legal provocation to give him hemlock to drink—for law can always be made to subserve passion. And thus it was that Socrates joined the true immortals.

There was a man born into an insignificant satrapy of the great Roman Empire. He found his people enslaved by a formalistic religion, bound by creed and dogma and meticulous rule of conduct and thereby missing life's higher values. He protested boldly against these things and continually told his countrymen that the things which they liked to believe were not necessarily true just because it pleased them to believe. So their frenzy finally reached the proper pitch and they did him to death like a common criminal. And, having crucified Jesus, they joyfully went their way assured that error was banished from the earth and that what they liked to call truth was vindicated. And to-day Jesus of Nazareth is still the inspiration of those who can sufficiently dissociate him from the accretions of nauseating dogma to appreciate him, while the brilliantly endowed mob which cheerfully cried "Away with him! Crucify him!" is but a hazy and repugnant memory.

There was Copernicus who set the sun in the midst of the solar system and relegated the earth to a subordinate position, and how the discerning masses rebuked him for his error. There was Galileo who continued this preposterous mistake and even enlarged upon it; yet how effectually did the priests dash his conclusions to atoms by refusing to look through his telescope. There was Colenso who derogated from man's dignity by insisting that God did not create all animals out of hand for the pleasure of man: and how quickly and unerringly the masses perceived his ignorance!

There was Darwin who insisted upon the kinship of man and the lower animals, a view which shocked the vanity of human kind and which made the celebrated Englishman an abomination. To-day we have Freud who does psychically what Darwin did physically, and declares that the very finest brain has within it the inherited instincts of the most degraded beast, and how intensely and whole heartedly he is hated by people whose mentality is severely taxed by a problem play.

Each and every one of these men was met with vituperation and passion; their ideas were misstated, their conclusions were ridiculed and their systems made objects of derision. Men of science otherwise rational laughed at their absurd conjectures and brushed them aside as unworthy of notice, refusing to examine them

calmy and reasonably. Even so mild an adventurer into radicalism as William James met this barrenness of logic on the part of critics who hastened to misinform themselves and then to demolish ludicrous men of straw which they had carefully labelled "Pragmatism."<sup>16</sup> To-day men of the cast of Bertrand Russell, Romain Rolland and Victor Berger—everyone of them apostles of peace and opponents of violence—are misjudged, are slurred and insulted and worse, and are studiously and deliberately misunderstood with the studied insolence that Samuel Butler finds so offensive, being the conviction that another could understand if he chose but he does not choose.<sup>17</sup>

*Nous ne croyons par les choses parce qu'elles sont vraies, mais nous les croyons vraies parce que nous les aimons*, said Pascal; and we very deliberately and maliciously libel those who ask us to believe the true. Even if it only seems true to them we could credit them with intellectual sincerity. This immense nation of a hundred and ten millions which has declared it could "lick the earth," trembles in terror and ships away from its shores a few hundred aliens unconvicted of any crime, lest these purveyors of falsehood should disrupt our nation which is founded upon what we choose to call the eternal rock of truth! If our nation is so founded ten thousand apostles of falsehood shall not triumph over her; if she be brought to the dust by the determined efforts of a few hundred radicals then is her foundation insecure. Truth is its own justification and error will always eventually commit suicide unless protected by law.

However, for our peace of mind, these naughty agitators—of whatever breed—simply must not prattle too loudly against things essential to our happiness. Of course if by some strange mischance they manage to prattle along, as did the prohibitionists, and to make unnoticed inroads before we are aware of the damage they are doing, till they have us bound hand and foot and "personal liberty" is dead—then—why then, we can very gracefully and very skillfully retreat, without any appearance of giving ground, to the equivocal point where we suddenly discover that an apparent evil is a positive good. Yesterday prohibition was to the press a dangerous infringement of personal liberty; to-day it is found to be what was wanted all along! To-day these newspapers realize unanimously that prohibition is an excellent and a virtuous thing; and, since the average newspaper editorial would test at about eleven years on a scale for the feeble-minded, and since this near moron grade represents the

<sup>16</sup> See *The Meaning of Truth* especially.

<sup>17</sup> Samuel Butler, *The Fair Haven*.

average mentality of those charming people who once hated Socrates and Jesus and Spinoza and Darwin, and who now collectively hate any one with advanced opinions, this means that prohibition is an unmitigated good and that is all there is to it!

Yet, in spite of all our cocksureness, life may be any number of things that seem distasteful. It may be a more or less conscious struggle toward an ideal never to be attained and under the tutelage of a finite God who is also struggling and getting nowhere. We may be but the most recent effort of that being among whose early mistakes were the leviathan and the prehistoric mammals of mountainous aspect. Life may be an examination paper set us "by God and Matthew Arnold." And when the prisoner declared that he stole bread because he must live, the judge may have been right in replying "I don't see the necessity!"

We may be able to see some cosmic meaning in this struggle between love and strife as does Mackenzie,<sup>18</sup> or we may approach the brink with our ideal unattained and still wondering and half bewildered as Adler thinks probable.<sup>19</sup> We may be but self-directive organisms menaced on all sides by inexorable nature and calling that good which helps and that evil which hinders us, as Roy Wood Sellars presumes.<sup>20</sup> Humanity may be God as hold the positivists. Nature may be God as held Spinoza, there may not be a God as held Huxley. Or as James tells us we may live in the universe as do dogs and cats in our libraries, having no inkling of the meaning of it all.<sup>21</sup> To which Mackenzie might well reply that though a cheese mite had a human consciousness and had thereby but small knowledge of the place of cheese in the totality of things, yet this circumscribed life cannot be called an illusion, but is an "aspect of reality imperfectly apprehended." Life may even be as futile as Ameil sometimes and Schopenhauer all the time imagines it or as Calderon sings it—*una ficción, una sombra, une ilusion*. We may be mildly hopeful and say with Maeterlinck that "it seems fairly certain that we spend in this world the only narrow, grudging, obscure and sorrowful moment of our destiny."<sup>22</sup> or we may become more exuberant and echo Maurice Barres when he says: "*Je suis un instant d'une chose immortelle!*"

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, 3.

<sup>19</sup> Felix Adler, *The World Crisis and Its Meaning*.

<sup>20</sup> Roy Wood Sellars, *The Next Step in Religion*.

<sup>21</sup> William James, *A Pluralistic Universe*.

<sup>22</sup> Maeterlinck, *Death*.

Any of these things may be true totally or in part. The point to be stressed is that truth remains truth whether we like it or not and that our hatred of truth seekers neither defeats their purposes nor extenuates our error. James tells us that if a novel experience contradicts too emphatically our preexistent systems of belief, we will in most cases treat it as false.<sup>23</sup> We see the giraffe and simply say "There is no such animal" because we have no category in which to classify it and do not care to frame a new one. And yet the ideas which lead to strife are not those verified as a result of scientific inquiry, but are opinions about matters which we do not yet fully understand. "Men begin the search for truth with fancy, after which they argue, and at length they try to find it."<sup>24</sup>

Just here lies the difference. It is absolutely necessary to distinguish between personal opinions and objective facts. Hydrochloric acid reacts with marble to form calcium chloride. Here is a fact of absolute reality to which everyone must agree once it is sufficiently explained to them. Facts of such character, where the search for truth has resulted in a terminal experience of reality, are to be propagated and insisted upon. Jesus Christ died to save sinners. Here is an opinion which became intuitive fact for certain people who crystallized it into dogma and, by trying to objectify intuition, gained nothing and lost much; to-day this unverifiable assertion is believed by every man in his own peculiar and individualistic manner, and it must always be so regarded. To insist upon propagating such things as fact and to expect others to objectify it as we may happen to, is a pure waste of time. The facts of intuition may be the most potent and the most precious things in our lives, but they must be regarded in a light altogether different from that in which we regard the accredited facts of the objective world.

At the end of his *Biographical History of Philosophy* Lewes seems struck with the futility of all this speculation, and he espouses the scientific method as the rational way out. The desire for the knowledge of "things in themselves" is dismissed as unpardonable moonshine: what we can have and what we must attain to is phenomenal knowledge about things. Perhaps this view is too materialistic. It seems, for instance, that the philosophy of a Haeckel errs by ignoring the spiritual side of man quite as much as does that of a Clutton-Brock by making intuitive faith into something bordering on naive credulity.

There are facts of nature which must be believed because they

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, 13.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, 11.

are demonstrably true: there are also undeniably facts of subjective experience which carry intuitive conviction and which are certainly true for the individual at very least. Some of these remain simple solipsism; others are in a sense universal. But it is characteristic of such beliefs that as soon as they are formulated they lose their value. For they are seen after all not to be true for all in precisely the same manner as they are true to any one. The statement—Acids turn blue litmus red—means precisely one thing for any one to whom it is made and who has sufficient intelligence and education to apprehend it properly. The statement—God is a spirit—means something a little different to every single person who hears it, and we can scarcely postulate a time when things will be otherwise.

We need science and we need faith; we need knowledge of externals and internal convictions; we need objective demonstration and subjective illumination. But we need to regard the two as separate aspects of that “mysterious Goddess whom we shall never see except in outline”—Truth.<sup>26</sup> Facts of the first type may be inculcated in so far as we are able to overcome inherent distaste for the unusual. Facts of the second type are in no case to be thrust upon another, especially when that other is a helpless child whose future life will be moulded thereby; these things are the individual possession of the reflective mind at maturity and are of little value to another. They must be formulated by each within the sacred precincts of his own soul.

Our task is to see that the intensity of our personal over-beliefs never causes us either to discount the assured convictions of scientific research or to look with intolerance upon the sincere professions of another believer wherein his opinions differ from our own. If this task be neglected we may readily attain a certain complacency and comfort in beliefs which are largely fallacies and thus go our myopic way to the paradise reserved for the exponents of cow-like virtue and the idolators of convention. If that task be done we may go forward assured that we have realized the highest law of our being and discerning that

“Life is but half a dream, wherein we see  
 The shadows of those things we may not know;  
 Yet do we trust the forms that come and go  
 Hold forth a promise of the world to be—  
 And, till the creeping darkness covers all,  
 We lie and watch the shadows on the wall.”  
 —Allan Sanderson, *Chamber's Journal*.

<sup>26</sup> Matthew Arnold, Preface to *Essays in Criticism*, 1st series.

## THE EARLY DIETICIAN.

BY W. B. CONGER.

"Wherein consists the contents of primitive thought?  
....that which awakens his emotions and calls forth  
particularly fear and terror comes to be an object of  
magical and demoniacal belief."

Wilhelm Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*.

AS we derived our morals from the fear of angry ghosts, so did we attain to etiquette by devious by-ways through the fear of woman! The process was a long and painful one, but has developed into a condition whereby women reap the benefit, as all social customs will eventually accrue to their advantage. It is a peculiar Christian who does not, when he carves the turkey, leg of lamb or cuts the steak, serve his wife with the choicest morsel, even though he may retain the larger share; but his early forebears would have regarded such politeness with horror. Neither, to-day, are troubled by the fear of magic or dread of the evil eye; the only bugaboo is the medicine man, the dietician, who substitutes beans for meat.

In the long ago, before science made the faith of some of us totter in things visible and invisible, our ancestors evolved an etiquette which must have made meal time not altogether a thing of pleasure.<sup>1</sup> The main idea is a fear of contamination through the qualities of the female. We shall also find that this belief is not confined to a low stage of culture, but that it is taught and held by the Parsis and Hindus, and that the results are still widespread, as with the Chinese, whose social customs, like all ancestor-worshipping peoples, show similarity of origin, and still lingers with the Syrian Christians among whom eating with men is still taboo to women.

<sup>1</sup> The principle of social taboo is an idea, due to the concrete habit of the human mind in a low stage of culture, that the attributes assigned to the individual who is feared, loathed, or despised are materially transmissible by contact of any sort. The most widely diffused form of this taboo is the rule which forbids men and women to eat together. Ernest Crawley, M. A., "Taboos of Commensality," *Folk-Lore*, VI. 1895.

With primitive peoples great ceremony attaches to eating. This applies also to men, but in more limited ways than with the ostracized woman. Contact is feared. In the Solomon Islands guests bring their own food, as these natives believe that if any one should accidentally retain a morsel of the food of his host, the host would mysteriously exercise an influence over him. In some places a man will not eat out of the same basket as another, and others will not accept food offered with bare hands. This fear follows the savage<sup>2</sup> into a far higher stage of culture and has the faith of others besides the Parsi,<sup>3</sup> who believes that a nail paring left unprayed over turns into the arms and equipments of the Māzanān demons. Among the Bakairi each man eats by himself, and the natives of Borneo feed alone, with more or less ceremony, considering it wrong to attack even an enemy while he is eating.<sup>4</sup> Linked with the belief that a woman's glance is especially poisonous, would permeate the food and deprive it of its strength,<sup>5</sup> besides conveying in place of its inherent virtues the deleterious and obnoxious qualities characteristic of the female,<sup>6</sup> is another special danger particularly imminent at meals. This is the danger to the soul. When the mouth is open it may be extracted by an enemy present, or, while one's own soul is absent, a homeless spirit may take up its abode. It is believed that the soul of man sometimes leaves him, as in dreams, or when he sneezes, and hence it is well to invoke a blessing upon him at such a moment.<sup>7</sup> The distinction drawn as to women and the food taboo is clearly shown inasmuch as while no alien is initiated into the sacred mysteries of the Fijians, yet they are allowed to aid in the preparation and partake of the feast which follows such ceremonies, but a Fijian woman never.<sup>8</sup> The Warua will not allow any one to see them eat, but are doubly particular that no one of the opposite sex does so.<sup>9</sup> Youths are particularly liable to malign influences when they have just undergone the initiation ceremonies into the new and religious life reserved for men, and among some tribes, at least, must carefully cover their mouths when a woman

<sup>2</sup> Crawley, *The Mystic Rose: A Study in Primitive Marriage*, 86 (1902).

<sup>3</sup> *Pahlavi Texts*, I, 342 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> (*Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, XXIII, 160) Crawley, *Ibid.*, 140, 148-149.

<sup>5</sup> *Grihaya-Sutra*, 123.

<sup>6</sup> *Pahlavi Texts*, I, 283 1.

<sup>7</sup> L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, 367.

<sup>8</sup> Hutton Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, 27.

<sup>9</sup> "I had to pay a man to let me see him drink, I could not make a man let a woman see him drink." Lt. V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, II, 71.

is present.<sup>10</sup> The fear of the savage does not die out but follows him into a higher culture.

Whatever etiquette, however, is observed through fear of sympathetic magic between men, the most widely diffused form of this taboo is the rule which forbids men and women to eat together.<sup>11</sup> Many peoples have an implicit belief in the transmission of qualities, moral as well as physical, as the most prominent dietician to-day believes in his theories regarding the harmful effects of a protein diet upon a patient suffering from auto-intoxication. Partaking of the flesh and blood of any creature<sup>12</sup> caused them to absorb its qualities, desirable or otherwise. In drinking blood which represents and is life, one might appropriate the spirit of the animal.<sup>13</sup> The early Romans forbade wine to women under the severest penalties. The juice of the grape being its blood, the wine god infused his votaries with his spirit. The gambols and ravings of the drunken man were considered inspired, and no one might interfere with or insult him. An inspired woman was an undesirable member of society owing partly to the impossibility of keeping her in subjection, with the additional danger of an intoxicated woman not only bringing confusion into ancestor-worshipping families, but into the *gens*.

A man in a low stage of culture dreads the hyena, for if his wife succeeds in making him eat its brains, he will acquire its stupidity, and she will gain complete control over him. Not only does the possession of food or any object belonging to another, or, especially, any portion of the physical being, such as hair or nails, cause the thief to acquire power over the original owner, but in Central Australia a man fears to even have his wife's relatives see him eat, for if he did their smell would get into the food and make him ill.<sup>14</sup>

The forbidding of certain foods to women or certain portions of the anatomy arises more from a belief in the qualities possessed by animals, and the desirability of increasing such characteristics as it is desirable for men to possess, such as courage, swiftness,

<sup>10</sup> J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, "Taboo or the Perils of the Soul," 116-117, 122.

<sup>11</sup> Crawley, "Taboos of Commensality," *Folk-Lore*, VI, 1895.

<sup>12</sup> W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 313-314; First Series (1914).

<sup>13</sup> Wilhelm Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, II, 200, 209. Trans. E. L. Schaub, Ph. D.

<sup>14</sup> (Spencer and Gillen). Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 398-399.



cunning pugnacity, etc.: to obtain by absorption qualities supposed to be contained in certain organs or portions, the fear of allowing women to use such specifics so as to increase such traits as the above, as well as sagacity, and in particular eloquence, thereby augmenting the difficulty of keeping them in subjection, causes the various taboos on food rather than mere greediness on the part of men.

A woman of the Kafirs who eats fowl is sold into slavery.<sup>15</sup> and among the Samoyeds the head of reindeer is forbidden, though the Dyaks of Borneo refrain from deer's meat as it might make them fainthearted.<sup>16</sup> The Dacotahs eat liver of dog and the Kafirs prepare a powder made of the dried flesh of various animals so as to absorb their varied qualities.<sup>17</sup> The heart of a water ouzel eaten by an Ainu, will not only make him a good marksman but will enable him to endure fatigue and above all things grow eloquent. The Eskimos have a taboo on eating seal and caribou the same day. Not only do some early peoples forbid the eating of fish,<sup>18</sup> but those living in a higher stage of culture sometimes ostracize the eaters of fish. The Masai<sup>19</sup> formerly forbade their women to eat anything but sheep. The Hottentot shares cow's milk with his wife, but a man is forbidden to eat sheep. Among the Mbyas of South America beef and monkey are two of the meats not allowed to women, and no girl may partake of any fish over a foot long.<sup>20</sup> The Miris of Northern India consider tiger meat unsuitable for women as it would make them strong minded.<sup>21</sup> The Hindus believe in the virtues of certain foods as do other races.<sup>22</sup> Then again we find the liver becomes an honorable organ, the kidneys dishonorable, the organs of mastication gentile, the organs of generation vulgar.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the forbidding of meat to women for the above reasons, the loss occasioned to men if the *mana* or soul of any

<sup>15</sup> E. Reclus, *The Earth and Its Inhabitants*, I, 215.

<sup>16</sup> (Spencer St. John, *Life in the Forest of the Far East*, I, 186). Crawley, *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>17</sup> Sir John Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilization*, 19-20.

<sup>18</sup> Frank Boaz, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, 222-223 (1911).

<sup>19</sup> Friedrich Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, 493. Trans. from 2d German ed. by A. J. Butler.

<sup>20</sup> Lubbock, *Ibid.*, 447.

<sup>21</sup> (Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, 33). Edward Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Idea*, II, 321.

<sup>22</sup> *Grihaya Sutra*, II, 283.

<sup>23</sup> J. P. Warbasse, M. D., *Medical Sociology*, 89 (1909).

creature be absorbed by a woman, is the fear of the power of the occult, and that they may yet be more than ever at the mercy of a creature who repels and yet allures them. The forbidding of meat to women for three nights at certain rhythmic periods becomes a religious tenet in a far higher stage of culture, as the fiend dwelling within her is in a state of activity, and any strength she may gain accrues to Ahriman,<sup>24</sup> the ruling evil spirit of the Parsis, as opposed to Ahura Mazda, the benevolent. There is reason to believe that the foundation for the exclusion of women from social, political and religious life, and the limiting of even the domestic, rests upon the fear men entertain of the catamenia. (There is no known connection between the catamenia and ovulation). Through the prohibitions caused by this fear they are still in a few instances ostracized from the village occupied by the men, in more numerous cases a wife will either sleep in another building or only occasionally enter her husband's room, wherever the men's house is established, and it has been and is widespread,<sup>25</sup> they are usually forbidden to enter, at any time on pain of death but always at meal time. As with religion they crept in later as servitors. Among the Mayas women acted as cup-bearers, and when presenting a cup to a man the woman turned her back while he drank.<sup>26</sup>

Sympathetic magic is strongly brought out among a people whose enciente women are not expected to eat game whose intestines have been injured and who is forbidden to eat that given to her by others than her husband, as the child, though born in wedlock, is in danger of being a bastard.<sup>27</sup> The men of the Kwakiutl, who catch geese, are not allowed to eat herring eggs because this would cause the geese to scatter. They are also forbidden rock cod, which causes the fires to be red and smoky, so that they cannot see what they are looking for. Sea-eggs and tallow are also forbidden for these would cause their faces to become white and easily visible to the birds. The association of the traits of animals with portions of their anatomy is carried so far by some Indians that they wear the claws of bears in order to absorb their courage and ferocity, these conveyances of power appearing to us merely as the uncivilized idea of ornament. Bones are believed to contain certain specifics. A child's skull was hung around the neck by the Tasmanians in order to check the progress of disease.

<sup>24</sup> *The Zend-Avesta*, 182.

<sup>25</sup> Hutton Webster, *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *Civilized Nations*, II, 711. M. A. B. Tucker, *Woman Preachers, The Nineteenth Century and After*, Dec., 1916.

<sup>27</sup> E. Reclus, *Primitive Folk*, 35-36.

Wherever cannibalism was or is practised, the portion of the body considered the seat of the soul is retained for the chief. A man's strength and spirit may reside in his kidney fat, heart, or even a lock of hair.<sup>28</sup> Some cannibals eat the body of the slain to destroy its soul or ghost and thus secure themselves against its vengeance,<sup>29</sup> but the African cannibal in conquering his enemy eats him in order to absorb his strength, skill and bravery.<sup>30</sup> When Sir Charles McCarthy was killed by the Ashantees in 1824, the chiefs divided his heart between them, while his flesh was distributed among the lower officers and his bones preserved as national fetiches for many years at Coomassie.<sup>31</sup> To women, *bokolo* or dead body is usually forbidden. As opposed to the faith in the efficacy of the blood of a man or of certain animals, some tribes believe a draught of women's blood would kill the strongest man. In China the heart, liver, gall and blood of executed criminals is used for life-strengthening purposes, and Chinese soldiers still eat the heart and liver of criminals to gain pluck. In Christian Europe the blood of criminals has been drunk as a cure against epilepsy and other diseases.<sup>32</sup>

The fighting instinct was undoubtedly cultivated and the courage of the individual increased through a staunch belief in the efficacy of the means used, as the deprivation of such specifics to women aided in cultivating the opposite traits, the possession of pugnacity and the enjoyment of physical strength and courage eventually becoming unladylike. The consideration shown by the husband to a wife, the deference he pays the womanly qualities he admires, the courtesies of men to women are the reversal of the original customs of society. The military man is still of preeminent importance, and the spectacular exhibitions of prowess of his profusely decorated ancestor is repeated in the exploits of the U-boat, the U-boat chaser, and the aviator, not to mention the courage of the individual of all ranks. The protection of women in war or in a mishap is of slow growth, in which men to their muscular

<sup>28</sup> Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, 48.

<sup>29</sup> P. V. N. Meyers, *History of Past Ethics*, 26.

<sup>30</sup> (Dr. H. C. Trumbull, *Blood Covenant*, 1893). Rev. R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 246. J. A. McCullough, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, 233-245. J. Deniker, *The Races of Men*, 147-148. L. T. Hobhouse, *Ibid.*, 240.

<sup>31</sup> J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, "Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild," 149.

<sup>32</sup> (De Groot). Westermarck, *Ibid.*, II, 264, 565 2. E. H. Parker, *China*, 277.

courage have added the moral strength to stand against odds or certain death with a coolness and self-control which thrills the blood of the most phlegmatic. Sir Samuel Baker says a Latooka man values his cows<sup>33</sup> and wives. In a *razzia* fight he will seldom stand for his wives, but when he does fight it is to save his cattle. Under similar conditions of belief, it would not be etiquette to shoot a poisoned arrow at a man, but perfectly correct to discharge one at a woman.<sup>34</sup>

That animals are sacred, that the most sacred portions of some animals have been used in sacrificial ceremonies has been found to exist in many parts of the world. This belief is carried to such an extent that even contact will cause an inanimate object to absorb sacredness. The Inoits hoist a bear's bladder on top of the poles supporting the *igloo*, and if a male's will contain the man's weapons, if a female's the wife's ornaments also. The bladder is the seat of life, and the desired qualities of the former owner will enter into the articles. The holy feast of the male buffalo, the flesh of which is eaten only by the men of the Todas, is held in the depth of the forest. The Caribs forbid the holy part of an ox to women. These same people believe that the viands partaken of by the spirits become holy, and only the old men and people of importance might taste them, and even this required a certain amount of bodily purity.<sup>35</sup> Mohammed would not eat lizards because he thought them the offspring of a metamorphosed clan of Israelites.<sup>36</sup> Dog with some peoples is particularly desirable for a religious feast, and the Ban-

<sup>33</sup> They are sacred.

<sup>34</sup> "Only when the arrow is smeared with plant poisons does the bow become a real weapon. In itself the arrow wound is not sufficient to kill either game or enemy; the arrow must be poisoned if the wound is to cause death or even temporary disability." Wundt, *Ibid.*, 26. A native of the Naga Hills told an Englishman that it was not the correct thing to use a poisoned arrow except to shoot it at a woman. (*Jour. Anthropol. Inst. of Great Britain*, 199). W. G. Sumner, *Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals* (1907).

<sup>35</sup> Edward Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 388.

<sup>36</sup> "Moreover, if certain foods are forbidden to the profane because they are sacred, certain others, on the contrary, are forbidden to persons of a sacred character, because they are profane. Thus it frequently happens that certain animals are specially designated as the food of women; for this reason they believe that they partake of a feminine nature and that they are consequently profane. On the other hand, the young novice is submitted to a series of rites of a particular severity; to give him the virtues which will enable him to enter into the world of sacred things, from which he had up till then been excluded, they center an exceptionally powerful group of religious forces upon him. Thus he enters into a state of sanctity which keeps all that is profane at a distance. Then he is not allowed to eat the game which is regarded as the special food of women (Howitt, *Native Tribes*, 674). Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religion*, 303-304.

ziris in the French Congo reserve its flesh for men, surrounding it with a solemn ritual. A man must not touch his wife for a day afterward.<sup>37</sup> The Dayfur people of South Africa and the For of Central Africa prohibit women from eating liver, because they believe it to be the seat of the soul, that a person may increase his soul by partaking of it,<sup>38</sup> the inference being that as women have no souls it would be wasted. Totem animals are sacred to the clan, often named after them, which believe them holy, and are usually forbidden as food, besides, as with the Kwakiutl, the owl, their totem, when killed causes the death of a person.<sup>39</sup> *Au contraire*, with others the killing of the totem is sometimes necessary, as with the Lilloats of British Columbia, and is also a religious carnival. Over the body of the dead bear, their ancestor, they chant:

"You died first greatest of animals. We respect you, and will treat you accordingly. No woman shall eat your flesh; no dogs insult you."<sup>40</sup>

Race culture is practised and there are few breaches in civilized society which would meet with the disapproval of the social community as would the slightest remissness considered detrimental to the race or which would tend to bring misfortune upon it. Among the Malays neither father nor mother may look at a mirror nor into a bamboo tube, as if they did the child would squint.<sup>41</sup> An enceinte woman must be most abstemious. On the islands of Torres Straits should an expectant mother eat *at*, a flat fish, or a *gib*, a red fish, her baby would have poor eyes or an unshapely nose or be like a dotard. Eugenists even require girls in some instances to refrain from pig on account of its ugly mouth and long snout. In the Admiralty Islands no enceinte woman may eat yams or taro bulbs lest her child be dumpy, and if she ate pork the little creature might have bristles instead of hair. Among the Thompson River Indians a pregnant woman was not allowed, among other articles of food, to eat or even touch porcupine flesh or to eat anything killed by a hawk or eagle. If she ate the flesh of the bear the infant would have a hair lip. Besides her own prohibitions, anything forbidden to her husband was taboo to her. It appears, also, that in some places the husband is under prohibitions for a time. The Shuswap

<sup>37</sup> Sumner, *Ibid.*, 339.

<sup>38</sup> (Falkin). Westermarck, *Ibid.*, II, 320-321.

<sup>39</sup> A. A. Goldenweiser, "Totemism: An Analytical Study," *Amer. Jour. Folk-Lore*, April-June, 1910, 200 2.

<sup>40</sup> Goldenweiser, *Ibid.*, 204.

<sup>41</sup> Ratzel, *Ibid.*, 441.

woman was forbidden to eat any bird, mammal or fish, except salmon. Among the Haida, a woman was forbidden certain meats owing the harm it would do the unborn child. Among certain peoples women at no time ate the head parts of any animals, and but few men ate them, unless they were shamans.<sup>42</sup> In the Banks Islands of the Pacific both parents eat only such food as would not cause illness to the new-born child.<sup>43</sup> A Cherokee woman was not allowed to eat ruffed grouse, for while that bird has large families it loses most of its young; strict people do not allow women to eat this bird until they are believed to be incapable of bearing children. The list of food denied the Australian woman is long, including many fishes and all turtles; only an enceinte woman may eat pigeon, it would make all others ill.<sup>44</sup> For an expectant mother among ourselves who desired a boy, a meat diet was recommended not so very long ago.

In Mili, one of the New Hebrides, the men prepare all their food in the men's club house, which is, of course, taboo to women, as anything a woman cooks is by them considered unclean.<sup>45</sup> In other communities a woman cannot enter the dining room during meal time,<sup>46</sup> and in others no woman may enter the building at any time on pain of death. Travelers have found unconscious infringements of such taboos a matter of peril, for the injudicious handing of food to women for distribution among warriors has brought them perilously near to being speared.<sup>47</sup> A Maori who touched an unclean woman himself became taboo "an inch thick,"<sup>48</sup> which is a literal translation of the belief in the corpuscular theory further developed by the sages.

New crops are frequently taboo until the chief has partaken of them, whereby he exercises his *mana* or magical power over them. In New Caledonia women may not eat of them until long after the men have partaken of them.

Such taboos affected necessarily not only social but domestic life. The Hottentot woman eats separately. She rarely enters her

<sup>42</sup> Goldenweiser, *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>43</sup> Wyllistine Goodsell, *A History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution*, 39.

<sup>44</sup> Ratzel, *Ibid.*, 372.

<sup>45</sup> (Baessler, *Südsee-Bilder*, 625). Webster, *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>46</sup> The catamenia is an offense against meal time. *Pahlavi Texts*, III, 303-305.

<sup>47</sup> Rev. J. G. Wood, *The Uncivilized Races of Man*, II, 757.

<sup>48</sup> (*Jour. Anthropol. Instit.*, XIX, 101). Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 11.

husband's room. Catlin says that in all his experience among the Indians of North America he never saw an Indian woman eat with her husband.<sup>49</sup> A Dacotah believed that if he ate with his wife his lips would dry up and turn black: a Uripiv who ventured to do so would face a mysterious death. Among the old Semites it was not customary for a man to eat with his wife, and to-day a Southern Arabian "would rather die than accept food at the hands of a woman."<sup>50</sup> It was not, in the early part of the nineteenth century, a universal custom for a man belonging to the higher classes among the Egyptians to take his meals with his wife, either being too haughty or too engaged to do so.<sup>51</sup> It is not a custom for men and women to dine together in China, although husband, wife and adult children will oftentimes eat at the same table, but when guests are present the women of the family do not appear,<sup>52</sup> a modern repetition of the social custom which bound the woman-citizen of Athens. Some men who will not eat with their wives will eat with their employees.<sup>53</sup> The present idea appears to be, not so much the fear of harm, as that a man's dignity is impinged by eating with women. A mother is said, also, to be forbidden to eat with her male children, and here again we find the Hindu idea paralleled, nor has she the right to touch the food her son leaves.<sup>54</sup>

The savage's belief in the magical power exercised over another through the possession of some article or by proximity continues in a century-long domestic taboo. Among some tribes of barbaric status, the elder brothers and father are served by the younger male members of the family, and when there are guests at table wait upon them, and on such occasions, like the women of many nations, take their meal afterward. The peasant wife of to-day of whatever clime, eats from a stew pan in a corner, rarely sitting at the table with her husband.<sup>55</sup> Mrs. Bishop found the custom wherever she traveled.<sup>56</sup> In one account she gives, a wife presented the food to her husband with the customary gesture of

<sup>49</sup> (Catlin, *Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians*). H. T. Finck, *Primitive Love and Love Stories*, 578.

<sup>50</sup> Sumner, *Ibid.*, 459.

<sup>51</sup> E. D. Lane, *The Modern Egyptian*, 129.

<sup>52</sup> Rev. Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, I, 46.

<sup>53</sup> K. F. Junor, M. D., *Curious and Characteristic Customs of the Chinese*, (1910).

<sup>54</sup> W. M. Gallichan, *Woman Under Polygamy*, 287-288, (1915).

<sup>55</sup> Caroline Dall, *The College, the Market and the Court*, 275-276, (1914).

<sup>56</sup> *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*.

respect, then served her little son, omitting the salutation, and then she and her little daughter retired and ate together. A Serbian bride at her wedding for the first and last time eats with a man and is served instead of serving.<sup>57</sup> The Nestorian Christians do not eat together, that is, the women do not eat with the men, a phenomenon of savagery running alongside the doctrines of Christ. As usual, we can find the expositions of savage ideas in the Sacred Books of the East, especially among the Parsis and Hindus. As the savage believes in the transmissibility of qualities by contact, so is the corpuscular theory expounded by orthodox pundits,<sup>58</sup> and in some respects surpasses that of the barbarian.

As we rise higher in the stage of culture sacred precepts forbid the sexes eating together. The fear the savage entertained of magical influences becomes religious tenets. Among the Hindus it is proper for a woman to eat apart from men, including her husband.<sup>59</sup> A Snâtaka, a particularly holy man, is especially forbidden to eat with his wife or even look at her while she eats or sits at her ease, for it is declared in the *Vâgasaneyaka*, "his children will be destitute of manly vigor."<sup>60</sup> The behests to students of the holy books are not only numerous but specific.<sup>61</sup> So well are these tenets obeyed to-day, that even in a happy home, where, in spite of many obstacles (principally in-laws) love dwells, the women of the family usually take their meals after the men have had theirs, and the wife as a rule, eats what it may please her lord to leave on his plate.<sup>62</sup> The Sadhs have twelve commandments, of which the tenth says a man must not eat a woman's leaving, but a woman may eat what a man has left, as may be the custom.<sup>63</sup>

This fear was not alone the fear of touch, but of glance, which has its foundation in the fear of the evil eye, and includes certain objectionable animals, and the low caste. If a man of inferior caste enters the kitchen of a Hindu while food is being prepared, all of it must be thrown away. If food so contaminated were eaten, it would taint the souls as well as bodies of the eaters and would cause long and painful expiation. A Brâhmana who dies

<sup>57</sup> Crawley, *Ibid.*, 177. Esther Singleton, *Turkey and the Balkan States*.

<sup>58</sup> E. Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*, 109 (1912).

<sup>59</sup> *Satapatha-Brâmana*, I, 259. *The Institutes of Vishnu*, 221, 226-227. Crawley, *Ibid.*, 169 10.

<sup>60</sup> *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas*, II, 61. *The Laws of Manu*, 138.

<sup>61</sup> *Grihaya Sutras*, 123.

<sup>62</sup> Pundita Ramabai Saravasti, *The High Caste Hindu Woman*, 48-49.

<sup>63</sup> H. H. Wilson, *Sketches of Religious Sects*, I, 355.



with the food of a Sûdra in his stomach becomes a village pig in his next life or is born into the family of a Sûdra. If, after eating such food, he becomes guilty with a Sûdra woman of an offense against caste, his sons shall belong to the Sûdra, and he shall not ascend to heaven.<sup>64</sup> A Kândâla must not look at the Brâhmanas while they eat. Now a Kândâla is the offspring of a Sûdra and a woman of the Brâhmana caste. There is nothing as low, for morality in India is largely founded on caste, except the offspring of a Brâhmana and a Sûdra woman, a Pârasava, who, though living, is impure as a corpse. No one, not even a Brâhmana, can escape the contamination caused by nearness to a corpse.<sup>65</sup> Offenses in India are in inverse ratio to caste importance, even sex playing a somewhat inferior part, though the sexual offense of a woman, as founded on ancestor-worshipping families, is far more heinous than that of which her husband is guilty.

The development of the moral ideas of the Brâhmana has been as remarkable, if not more so, than any other race, but certainly none have made such a comprehensive effort to protect caste. It is to be noted that a village pig is one of the animals not allowed to look at a Brâhmana while he eats, as well as the cock and dog. Here the Hindu is at absolute variance with the Parsi, both of these animals being held in high honor by the Parsi, ill treatment of our most faithful friend being severely punished, the penalty sometimes being death. To the list of those who may not look at a Brâhmana while he eats is a eunuch and an unclean woman: "what any of these sees at a burnt oblation, at a solemn gift, at a dining given to Brâhmanas, or at any rite in honor of the gods and *manes*, that produces not the desired result."<sup>66</sup> The fear of the evil eye did and still exists in Christian countries and is not always confined to the uneducated.<sup>67</sup>

A boy is separated from his mother in early society sometimes at the age of three or four, but it is not usually until puberty approaches that he is taken away and preparations for his initiation into the world of men's interests are begun. This is a religious

<sup>64</sup> *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas*, II, 39.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 94, 95.

<sup>66</sup> *Manu*, 119.

<sup>67</sup> The evil eye is firmly believed in in Syria. A fat and sweet baby, a handsome and strong man, a beautiful woman, a very fruitful tree, an abundant crop of silk cocoons, etc., are in constant danger of being injured or even killed by an admiring evil eye. "Often did my mother grab and run away with me, her beautiful baby, to the nearest hiding place, when one who was supposed to 'strike with the eye' happened to be passing anywhere near our house."—A. M. Rihbany, *A Far Journey; an Autobiography* (1914).

world, and his initiation into it is sometimes so severe that the weaker novice dies. Prior to his initiation he has lived in a profane world, the world of women and children and uninitiated men.<sup>68</sup> Through these sacred mysteries the novice undergoes, not simply a new development in his life, but a "transformation *totius substantiac*."<sup>69</sup> The novice dies. He is reborn a new being, purified in body, with the birth taint removed from him, and with a mind vivified to embrace the sacred mysteries imparted to him by the old men. This idea is illustrated, in its development, among the Hindus. The syllable OM, which is the essence of the Veda, a salutation to Ráma, is to be pronounced at the beginning and end of a lesson studied from their sacred books by a student, who, meditating on the syllable OM becomes thereby fit to be united with Brahma.<sup>70</sup> Sometimes a few preliminary precautions are taken before such separation begins, and boys will be forbidden to eat food belonging to women. Novices among the Kumai of Gippsland may not eat female animals. The undesirability of having women at meals, the belief in the transmission of undesirable qualities of course easily embraces the physical. It is presumable that the hard labor women perform, the distances they trudge burdened with heavy loads, soon turn them into unpleasing objects; for these people think that if a boy ate with women he would grow up ugly and become gray. It is said there is no leisure to equal the leisure of an African gentleman. The tribes of Western Victoria forbid a boy to eat a female opossum, for if he did he would become peevish and discontented; these two traits are ascribed as characteristic female qualities. The list of food forbidden a boy is sometimes long about the time of his initiation. Parrots and cockatoos are among those forbidden in some tribes, kangaroo tail also, as it brings premature age and decay. No boy may eat a female bandicoot, because he would probably bleed to death at the initiation ceremonies.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Rules are given in the sacred books at what ages a boy may be initiated. If the initiation does not take place at such times, after a certain age he can no longer be a candidate.

<sup>69</sup> Durkheim, *Ibid.*, 39, etc.

<sup>70</sup> *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas*, II, 283-284. H. H. Wilson, *Sketches of Religious Sects*, I, 40. *The Institutes of Vishnu*, 126. *The Laws of Manu*, 43-44.

<sup>71</sup> Goldenweiser, *Ibid.* Harrison, *Ibid.*, 36. I. W. Thomas, *The Source Book of Social Origins*, 241. Hutton Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*. Jane Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of the Greek Religions* (1912).

A god would not only be polluted by the approach of an unclean person and his holiness diminished, thereby exciting his anger,<sup>72</sup> but any offerings could be defiled. In Tahiti the choicest foods, the flesh of pig, fowl and fish, coconuts<sup>73</sup> and plantains, anything which was to be offered to the gods, could be partaken of by men, but a woman was forbidden on pain of death to touch them.<sup>74</sup> Temples, altars, and ground held sacred to the mysteries of a religious faith are forbidden to women at all times; there continue to be certain restrictions at all times, and again at certain periods.<sup>75</sup> Of the great religious teachers Christ alone placed the woman-soul on the same plane as the man-soul. A Hindu wife takes a quiescent part in certain household ceremonies. *Ghee*, the sacrificial butter, is always a sacrificial element, and its purity is so sullied by her glance that it has to be reheated in order to remove the impurity she has imparted to it.<sup>76</sup> The Parsi teaches that the glance of an unclean woman takes the virtue out of any object at which she looks, imparts evil to every thing which she touches, and taints even their most sacred shrub if she is within a certain number of feet, so that earth, wood, fire and water, the sun and the starlight must be, as well as her fellow man, protected against her:<sup>77</sup> therefore in the olden days she was incarcerated in the *dashtanistan*, nowadays in a windowless and doorless room contained in every Parsi home. The Hindu warns all men against approaching an unclean woman; Mohammed is an echo. The Hindu woman must remove her ornaments, she must not laugh or run, she must not attend to household duties, etc. The cultured Roman held ideas not as extreme, but showed this belief still held him.<sup>78</sup> A world-wide situation is summed up by the Hebrew sage: "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow

<sup>72</sup> Westermarck, *Ibid.*, II, 354.

<sup>73</sup> Which have magical qualities.

<sup>74</sup> Sir John Lubbock, *Ibid.*, 447-448. "Oppressive as were the laws to men, they were far more so upon the women. . . . Neither could they eat with men; their houses and their labor were distinct; their aliment was separately prepared. A female child from birth to death was allowed no food that had touched its father's dish. The choicest of animal and vegetable products were reserved for the male child; for the female the poorest; and the use of many kinds, such as pork, shark, bananas and coconut were altogether interdicted." J. J. Jarves, *History of the Sandwich Islands*.

<sup>75</sup> Thomas, *Ibid.* Durkheim, *Ibid.* Rt. Rev. Chas. Jos. Hefele, D. D., *A History of the Christian Councils*. Trans. and ed. by Rev. W. R. Clark, M. A. 2d ed. revised (Edinburgh) 1884.

<sup>76</sup> *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, III, 75 19.

<sup>77</sup> *The Zend Avesta. Pahlavi Texts*, I, 279; III, 303-305.

<sup>78</sup> Pliny, *The Natural History of*, II, 150-152; IV, 199 2; V, 304-307. Trans. J. Bostock and H. T. Riley.

and thy conception: thy desire shall be unto thy husband and he shall rule over thee."<sup>79</sup> In savagery, in barbarism and in civilization a woman at child-birth is a tabooed object; girls at puberty, women when enceinte were and are objects of dread. Lingered beliefs hold their influence in Christian Europe, whispers are heard in our country districts; nay, even in our large cities!

In Africa it appears there is no usage for the word "home,"<sup>80</sup> and there is apparently no family institution among the Bako dwarfs of Kamerun.<sup>81</sup> Women are sometimes totally excluded from the villages occupied by the men.<sup>82</sup> In the Pelew Islands there is no family life, no social life including the women, and needless to say, the taboo is also political. In the Society and Sandwich Islands the women are practically isolated. Among the Samoyeds and Ostiaks the wife keeps in her corner of the tent. Among the Bedouins the tent is divided, the men talking in the one side, the women working in the other. In Corea there is no family life. There is no family life, as we know it, in China, Japan or India. Women, at least among the lower classes, among Slavonic peoples owe formal deference to men. From the dance, from festivals, from the drama, women have everywhere, in one way or another, been forbidden participation.<sup>83</sup> Such customs merged from the fear of magic through the religious tenets of our Aryan ancestors into one in which it was not etiquette for women to appear at the same table when men were guests. An Athenian citizen-woman in the age of Pericles who attempted to break down this barrier would have done so at the price of her reputation. So long did this taboo continue it is said that wives in England did not sit at the table until the tenth century.<sup>84</sup> Harmless superstitions carry on the ancient fear, as in Brandenburg lovers and married people must not eat from the same plate or drink from the same cup. In the district of Fahrland, near Potsdam, there is a prohibition which is observed against a married couple biting the same slice of bread.

<sup>79</sup> Gen. iii. 15.

<sup>80</sup> D. Crawford, *Thinking Black: Thirty-Two Years Without a Break in the Long Grass of Central Africa (Konga Vantus)*.

<sup>81</sup> Sumner, *Ibid.*, 345.

<sup>82</sup> (Burrows, "On the Native Races of the Upper Welle District of the Belgian Congo," *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, N. S., I, 41); Thomas, *Sex and Society*, 299, 300.

<sup>83</sup> (J. Georgi, *Les Native Samoyeds*, 15, 137); 375. (B. T. Somerville, *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, XXIII, 4) 40 (1, 2, 5, 6), 52-53(3)-54. Thomas, *Source Book*, 471. Stephen Graham, "The Russians and the War," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1915.

<sup>84</sup> Matilda Jocelyn Gage, *Woman, Church and State*, 341-342.

The psychological effect of a phenomenon which neither sex understood is the fountainhead for the exclusion of women not only from partaking of food with men, but the resulting exclusion and ostracism which has been and is domestic, social, political and religious. This separation of men and women led, we may believe to a more varied development than otherwise would have occurred. The seclusion, the ostracism developed diplomacy, which is one of the chief characteristics of women, coyness, a trait which has puzzled the anthropologist and psychologist, fear, asceticism, with other contributory causes, brought dissembling, prudery. Modesty, however, among Christian women, is largely a matter of fashion; a "striking" costume attracts attention, if not admiration. Fear, asceticism and aestheticism developed a viewpoint which has produced an unhealthy attitude toward the essentials of normal living; but this involves the enforcement of the double moral standard which first made the married woman the bearer of a double burden and at a later stage of culture involved the young girl in the bearing of an even heavier burden. Timidity was engendered, besides a certain amount of gentleness and sympathy. The fighting instinct, however, is not dead among women as evidenced by the late war. Both seclusion and ostracism tended to make women more tractable than the sex which became, as a rule, unclean<sup>85</sup> only through contact with unclean objects, as opposed to a sex which was fundamentally *noa*, common, or more properly speaking, evil. Woman was the dwelling place of superabundant evil, and as such was the object of demoniac attack and the source of evil to others.

The subjection of women was not founded on muscular weakness; there is no record of such in savage or barbarous society. The chief cause was much more subtle, i. e., fear, which is the most unreasoning of all the emotions. Her blood was poisonous, at certain stages of belief, to drink; if seen it would cast a blight upon a boy's life or cause a man's death; her touch took the virtue out of weapons; her glance banished the polish from metal; it blunted weapons. She was ostracized from the chase, the fight.

From savagery into barbarism, through barbarism into civilization, through civilization into Christianity we find a belief which has made society what it is.

<sup>85</sup> This phase is brought out more clearly in the teachings of the Hebrew than any other peoples.

## THE EVOLUTIONARY FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH.

BY ORLAND O. NORRIS.

### I.

WILL the Church survive? Will Christianity itself survive? It all depends. The answer to the first question depends on the Church itself. If the Church survives, that will be because it so adjusts itself to the evolutionary needs of humanity, as these are more and more clearly apprehended, as to merit and to win continuous voluntary support. The answer to the second question depends upon what is meant by Christianity. If the name is understood merely as a meaningless synonym for "western civilization," as people commonly use words, and if western civilization adjusts itself to the demands of evolution, then the name Christianity may be expected to persist, but actually as a misnomer: the distinguishing features, that once made our civilization true to the name, will have disappeared. But if tradition-serving ecclesiasticism and sectarianism persist in asserting the meaning historically and etymologically denoted by the name Christianity, we may expect men to revolt against the name and discard it, even though western civilization continues. The survival of the mere name, on the one hand, will connote no gain; its disappearance, on the other hand, will be no sign of loss. For by that time we may expect a respectable minority of men to understand the psychology by which the Jew Jesus was made out to have become a supernatural Christ; to know that transcendental, other-world belief is not a motive but only a sanction of conduct, and an erroneous one at that; and that however far men may stray from the evolutionary highway, misled by the glaring bill-boards of an erroneous cultural tradition, their prime and essential affiliations are of this world and with their fellow men. The problem of supreme importance for man is continuously to provide that the human species itself may persist upon earth:

and only as it ministers helpfully and directly in the species struggle for a continued life upon earth has the Church, or Christianity, or what we call western civilization, or any institution in the life of man any claim upon a right to perpetuity. The human evolutionary process demands some such institution as the Church. Our established institutions of secular education cannot suffice; their work is not extended to all, nor far beyond the limits of youth. The press cannot meet the need; the personal and the social touch are necessary. The Church of the present cannot fill the breach, its vision distorted by a mythological idealism that is a mere travesty of man's real impulses. If the Church does not awake and adjust itself to the need, we may expect some other institution to develop, out of the very needs of men, to supplant it.

## 11.

The Church, like the Sabbath, was made for man; and, like the Sabbath, it was made by man to satisfy unidentified impulses and needs that the current social order brought to consciousness and set men to trying to interpret. But considerable critical thinking has been done since the Man of Nazareth lived and propounded his social program for the satisfaction of these needs—a program that lacked the scientific data and presuppositions to keep its logical implications within the scope of the real world, a program which his followers misconceived and misinterpreted to suit their own preconceived purposes in the founding of the Church. And our present-day philosophies of life, in so far as their authors go to the life process itself for their data and not to theological misinterpretations of previous misinterpretations of the impulses of life, represent a greatly changed conception of those needs, even from that of Jesus.

Jesus lived and taught among a down-trodden people, in an age of cruel economic exploitation, when his race and economic stratum saw no hopeful outlook for themselves in this world. In his attitude Jesus himself was not of this hopeless mass. He felt and taught the essential oneness of humanity, as had the great author of the Book of Jonah before him. His message embodied an equal measure of rights and of possible hopefulness for all the units of his regard, namely, for all *individuals* of all degrees, and of all races. Living before the discovery of man's evolutionary backgrounds, as he did, his philosophy had none of that direct reference of distant social and racial futurity that would have

satisfied the desires of all normal men regarding a future life; and he was too much interested in men's lives in this world to give much attention to that imaginary, mythical afterworld in which his disciples located their chief interest. Like them, he apparently felt convinced of man's increasing wickedness, and therefore of an approaching "end of the world." His altruism, expressed in the Golden Rule, took account only of men's lateral, social relationships, as individual creatures of one flesh and blood. It was a "saving" philosophy, calculated to stay the supposedly inevitable disintegration; it was not a positive, constructive program intended to build a social order that would persist because of its own vitality. While it presupposed for all races of men a derivation from a common source, yet the course of their descent it represented as not of a progressive but of a degenerative character. It embodied no account or even intimation of an evolutionary past, of the responsibility of each generation for as many as possible to succeed it, and therefore of an earthly species future evermore to be achieved, complementary to the evolutionary past that we know about.

Jesus apparently shared with his followers a belief in an afterworld. Otherwise they would hardly have followed him; their most cherished interests and convictions would hardly have found satisfactory confirmation in his teachings. But whereas his prime interest was in man's lateral, social rights and obligations in this world, his socially less hopeful followers, both in his own and in succeeding generations, centered their interests and hopes in a mythical, transcendental world beyond the grave. Because of the social injustice and oppression to which they were subjected, and for which they could discern no relief in this world, they were glad to believe that for exemplifying the kind of social righteousness urged by their Master in this world, there would be a compensation in that suppositious afterworld, which would be an effectual turning of the tables upon the oppressors of the weak everywhere—a belief too selfish and vindictive to find favor with him, but one that through all the succeeding centuries has been used to reconcile the exploited of earth to their own exploitation. The teachings of Jesus appealed to certain men of his day, as to like men ever since, not because they were true, but because they were easily interpretable in terms of what those particular men wanted to be true. Satisfaction of desire is never an evidence of truth; it can never be other than an evidence of a more or less near approach, direct or indirect, to adequate and truthful interpretation of *the impulse to that desire*. The desire for continuity of life, which Christian theology has satisfied with



the promise of a mythical, "spiritual" afterlife for the individual, finds its natural and proper satisfaction in the promise of an endless line of succeeding generations in which the desirer's own values shall continue to function on the side of species continuity. For belief in such a future world, an extension of the racial life far beyond any given generation, there is abundant foundation of fact. Satisfaction with this foundation and its promise for the future, however, can be no more than a confirmatory sanction of the reinterpretation of life therein embodied. Even here satisfaction can not be accepted as proof. Proof belongs to the intellect, sanction or confirmation to feeling. But just as a blotting of the race off the earth is the greatest calamity of which man can dream, so is the certainty of a continued life, by whatever social order this may best be achieved, his most cheering prospect.

But the conception of an evolution of the species, covering millions of years in the past, with the complementary conception of as many millions of years for the species yet to live upon earth, was not then possible either for Jesus or for his disciples. Whereas we to-day can discern life to be a matter not only of individual, nor yet of merely institutional, or national, or racial, but of really earth-wide species import for all time to come, it was by the early Christians conceived in terms of the individual. And therefore the impulse to continuity of life was by them interpreted in terms of the individual as an independent, self-existent entity with a finality of worth in himself. Instead of relating their interests in the future to such a new social order as would assure a still further future, a future to be achieved by social cooperation on an earth-wide scale, they deferred the consummation of these hopes and interests to a mystical, "spiritual," mythical existence beyond the event of death.

But between the world of the flesh and that other world was a great gulf that needs must be bridged. Removal of sensuous and logical contradictions between the notions held of these two worlds led to the conception of a non-substantial, immaterial existence, which scientifically and logically amounts to mere nothingness. Yet the feelings associated with the inherent impulse to continuity of life led men to accept and cling to this as a reality, in an unreasoning hope that it was nevertheless, in some sort of incomprehensible way, a real existence. The blind hope of a continued existence led to the blind, uncritical faith that the hope might and must have a substantial basis, and that existence itself some sort of substantial content. Then the desire for such a faith led to an assertion of

that faith, the more vociferous as the grounds of the hope appeared the less substantial. The hope, in that individualistic form of its assertion, was declared to be of itself evidence for that particular mode of fulfilment. The asserted faith was itself insisted upon as in fact the very substance of the thing hoped for. There was naturally no conception that future knowledge might so elucidate the nature of human earthly existence that this same impulse to continuity of life might be satisfied with a different interpretation; but for mutual confirmation and encouragement in this forlorn hope that they so ardently wished to entertain, men banded together and organized themselves into an institution which should some time so compel all men to join in the affirmation that none might be left to raise or suggest a doubt to disturb their unsubstantiated assurance. In whatsoever way they rationalized their action, men's chief motive in founding the Church was the desire to maintain in undisturbed comfort the precarious interpretation that they had made of their impulse to achieve a continued life.

And so we find the Church to-day supposing that its existence depends upon its assertion of this more and more precarious hope, in which men are constantly losing interest because of their greater socialization and humanization. But the motive to this supposition so strenuously held is as ever the desire not to give up this particular form of belief, because no other so satisfying interpretation of men's impulse to live has yet been presented to take its place. The Church—or, rather, the ecclesiastical element within it—fears a "phobia of disbelief" *in its own tenets*, on the myopic assumption that there can be no better, and therefore no more satisfying, form of belief. If it continues to assert this hope, in which men are rationally losing faith and interest, and if it thus continues trying to perform an impossible service, a merely suppositious service where no need is felt, it requires no seer to predict its end. The Church has not adjusted itself to the evolutionary process. Because of its leaders' fears for its integrity as an institution, partly because it is the source of their social and economic support, they have made it so to dominate men's minds as to keep them from discerning the nature and function of the process itself. Because of their insistence in season and out of season upon the ideas of soul and afterworld, they have kept themselves and all men in a blind alley where they could not discern their true nature. But those of each succeeding generation were born in this alley and brought up in fear of transgressing its confines. How then can they be blamed? If the Church survives, that will be because it outgrows its ecclesiasticism, discards

its mythological transcendentalism, and accepts itself as an institution whose fundamental concern is with such services within the evolutionary process as will give most rational grounds for hope of species continuity.

### III.

Will Christianity itself survive? But what is Christianity? One is not accepted as being necessarily or essentially a Christian, who habitually and rationally accepts the historicity of Jesus as a great social and ethical teacher of Galilee nineteen hundred years ago. To be accredited a Christian one must accept the web of rationalizing myth by which the physical Jesus was made out to have become a metaphysical Messiah, or Christ, or Anointed. The use of the words Christ and Christian always implies an acceptance of this myth. It was for the purpose of making this myth more plausible and acceptable to the unscientific minds of the long ago that the slender thread of relationship between the real Jesus and the mythical Christ was invented and embodied in the story of Mary Magdalene anointing the feet of Jesus. Whether or not the incident was an actual occurrence, the primary interest in the story of it came from a misinterpretation and misapplication of such Old Testament passages as Ps. xlv. 7, Is. lxi. 1, and Dan. ix. 24. Essential Christianity, as interpreted by its ecclesiasticized interpreters, is a civilization which not only accepts the historicity of Jesus as a great prophet of social righteousness and admits in theory the essential righteousness of his ethical code, but one which accepts also and chiefly the story of his resurrection, and therefore the story of his anointing, and all the other stories that in the course of a century grew up by suggestion from misunderstood Old Testament passages, out of the effort to make him appear a plausible fulfilment of a gradually misinterpreted hope of the denationalized Jewish people. If this belief be insisted upon as the test of Christianity, while the name itself may continue to persist as the name of Occidental civilization, that name will in no long time be wholly a misnomer, because men will have outgrown the belief. The much better civilization that will some day be built up about the concept of evolution and its meaning, while it will incidentally embody the essential social teachings of Jesus—and that not because he taught them, but because they approach a scientific application of the evolutionary meaning of life itself—will not at all be truthfully subsumed under the name of Christianity. But, then, what do we care for the name? It is the thing itself that counts, by whatever

name it is called. Only, one does like to hear things called by names that are apposite and true.

## IV.

And what will be the nature of that better, that evolutionary, or racial, civilization? It is not enough to discern and to insist that our present civilization admits of change, and to interpret that change as progress. The question to ask is whether the change in each case better supports the fundamental life process.

It is common to draw invidious contrasts between the natural, or real, and the ideal. The natural is often regarded as base, uninspired. The ideal, in which man pays peculiar compliments to himself as the only rational creature of earth and as being therefore in some way supernaturally endowed, is supposed to be lofty, anti-natural, supernatural. This fetching compliment man uses to set himself off from the rest of earth's creatures, so that he feels justified in treating them quite as suits his own selfish purposes and convenience; and with it also he sets himself above his fellows who prove unable to follow him through all the mazes of his selfish rationalizing. As if intellect were the be-all and the end-all of human reality and existence, and not a means to an end, developed out of the evolutionary experience of the race! As if reason did not often follow a straight course and yet reach wholly wrong conclusions, because its presuppositions had been wrong! To urge that man should live true to natural law, that he should fulfil his true nature, that he not only admit his past evolution but that he make his future history true to the immanent laws of existence, which make for an endless species life—this is supposed not to be in good taste; it would be "a retrograde movement in morals," "a reversion to type"! Most particularly is it resented by those individuals and self-appointed leaders, the borderland scouts of conservative traditionalism who profit economically and socially by their position in our various "civilized" institutions.

Men have been very slow to discern the meaning and implications of evolution. Because of ecclesiasticism's preemption of interest in the future, which it long ago misinterpreted in terms of individual destiny beyond the grave, the evolutionary interest has been almost wholly concentrated upon the past—upon the "ascent" and the "descent" of man, upon his lateral relationships to the rest of the organic world, and upon the formal nature of the evolutionary process itself. Because the thing there seized upon as most significant was the fact of evolution, development, progress, the evolu-

tionary interest in the future has been quite wholly concerned with "progress." And because of the traditional interest in the individual, progress has been conceived in terms of individual efficiency, and its culmination in a race of imaginary supermen, "a coherent universe-process of interacting spirits advancing to ever higher attainments." Furthermore, because that evolutionary progress has been chiefly expressed in terms of the physical, in terms of man's increasing control over his physical environment, his rational capacity being still regarded by the great majority as supernatural, the scientific and philosophic interest in evolution is even to-day confined to the almost wholly academic problem of the acquisition and transmission of acquired characteristics. Men fail to discern that human self-control has been a necessary prerequisite to control of nature, and that every new control of nature must also be a matter of self-control, both in the interest of its acquisition and in that of its right use. There has seldom been a more conspicuous case of gaping for a camel and swallowing a gnat than is exemplified in the total results of the study of heredity as applied to man; and seldom a more conspicuous case of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel than the biologist's acceptance of the mythological doctrine of souls. The extenuating explanation of his plight is the fact that ecclesiasticism had already got him thoroughly indoctrinated with this belief before he had yet dreamed of becoming a scientist. It is hard indeed to slough off deeply ingrained folkways of acting and thinking.

But the most significant thing in the past history of man, as of other species, is not the fact of progress, however marvelous all this may appear. Progress is secondary and incidental to that most significant thing, which is the fact that the phyla that have become man and all the humbler species have actually achieved continuity of life through perhaps a hundred million years. As the really significant thing to discern in the evolutionary past is perpetuity of life through many millions of years, chiefly through responsiveness to sensory stimuli and to blind, organic impulse, so should our interest in the present and future of humanity be an interest in the perpetuity of the species itself. If the human phylum was so long successful without intelligence, and if since the development of intelligence and reason it has been so successful in spite of ignorance and selfishness, who is to say that with its dawning world-wide social intelligence it may not achieve as long a span of life in the future as it already has in the past?

Here, then, we discern what must be the concern and spirit of

that better civilization which is certainly destined to supplant ours of to-day. Its standard of evaluations will not be traditional ideas or beliefs, or compliance with social or institutional forms, but an ideal of perpetuity for the human race. This will be our new humanism. It will discern that man does not live to progress, but progresses as the basic condition of a continued species life; and its concern for this fundamental evolutionary ideal will direct it in its decisions regarding the nature of progress, of good and evil, of social organization and activities. Here will be found a new and really scientific basis for practical ethics. Moreover, here will be allowed the greatest possible freedom for the individual, who will readily admit that he has no right or privilege to violate the demands of the species life, save as he sublimates one impulsion in terms of a higher, more helpful one for the species, and who will always have before him as a free field of liberty a choice of all the modes of service to the race that his capacity permits. How much greater freedom can one demand for himself? Where shall he find a greater stimulus to healthful living? Where shall he find more abundant happiness, the reward of well-living? Who will grieve to see the old order give place to the new?

## v.

And, finally, what shall be the place of the Church in that new order? At first thought most persons will perhaps discern no place for it at all; it is so common an error to suppose that an institution depends for its continuity upon a maintenance of the forms, practices, and "principles" with which its founders and developers envisaged its meaning. The erroneous assumption has perhaps never been more succinctly stated than in Thomas Davidson's *Aristotle*: "An institution perishes when it abandons the principles on which it was founded and built up." And yet even here is left open a way for the Church to save its face and live. If it insists that its tenets regarding soul, forgiveness of sin, heaven, and all the rest of its individualistic and mythological philosophy are the grounds of its existence and therefore must be retained, its days are all but numbered. But if it insists that the basic principle of its founding, as of its historical continuity, was service to man, and that with the advance of knowledge a new conception and a reinterpretation of what constitutes real service has become necessary; if it will discard its old "revelations" as inadequate and will proceed to adapt itself to the new revelation extracted from the scientific examination of

man's history and nature, in that case it opens before itself a vista of service as broad as the surface of the earth and as long as the possible future of the race itself. Furthermore, in so doing it will be able to throw off the enormous incubus of myth and casuistry with which ecclesiasticism loaded it in its effort to save the shadow without admitting the substance of truth.

What adjustment, then, must the Church make in order to become true to the spirit of evolution, and what is to be the service that it must render in its regenerated existence? The new thing to which it must adjust itself is the idea of, and the demand for, a practical earthly immortality of the human race. Out of this adjustment will arise as many problems as it ever attempted to solve, problems of which there will be no end for number, problems whose solution will be continuous with the life of the race, because each new generation must be oriented and prepared for its life work, and each generation of the elders must ever and anon have its knowledge extended and refreshed and its *faith* renewed. Such an adjustment will result in a practical, working identification of religion with life, a relationship which the Church has always asserted, but never convincingly, because it really knew neither term of the equation. Such an adjustment will put the Church in the way of rendering a positive, dynamic, intelligible service in the life of the race, instead of the incidental and ineffectual service that it has indirectly rendered, because it put a mythical interpretation upon it, in the past. It will array the Church positively upon the side of life and common humanity, as against privilege and the oppressors of the weak. Better, by revealing to all men their really innate humanity, it will remove the temptation to profiteering and oppression. It will make the Church the fighting champion of science and of every new application of knowledge that will redound to the betterment, and therefore happiness, of the human race. It will restore to humanity the office of prophet, which it all but lost when institutionalism gained the ascendancy in the life of the Hebrew race. It will change the current conception of life from that of a "struggle for existence" to one of a "cooperation for living," a continuously cooperative living of the life of the whole human race, to the end that it may never die.

The Church has not been mistaken in claiming for itself pre-eminence among human institutions, but only in its misinterpretation of man's need of it, and of the kind of preeminent function that it was called upon to perform. The error was wholly natural in the days of man's ignorance, but to-day man calls upon it to repent

of its old error and to set forth upon the right path. As it was man's institution in the beginning, so is it to-day, in spite of the ecclesiasticism that has always held it as preeminently a stronghold for propaganda recommending an existenceless world; and he will either mold it to his needs, now better discerned, or will supplant it with a better. It rests with the Church to decide which he shall do.



## ROMAN TOLERANCE TOWARD THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

**I**N empires consisting of different nationalities, the language question always has played a great part. The ruling people generally considers its own language as far superior to that of the other nationalities and very often is intolerant toward other languages, even if these languages are not those of savages, not yet fixed in literature, but are languages which have been fixed in literature long ago connected with a high civilization. Probably very few ruling peoples have not shown intolerance in this respect.

In this connection it is interesting to consider the attitude of ancient Rome toward the languages of the peoples becoming subject to them, especially toward the Greek language, the most widely used in the Roman Empire besides the Latin. It is that of the greatest tolerance.

In order that philologists and historians may not say, that I am carrying owls to Athens, i. e., that this is long ago known, I must give a reason for my writing this. I have found out that this is really not so generally known as we think it is. Why this defective historical information, I do not know. In these latter years of national hostility also other things have rushed into print which show a lack of historical information. A few years ago the president of a noted American scientific association published an article in a well-known American scientific journal, to show that the Germans in fact had done very little in scientific research and discovery, etc. Among other things he said that the Germans cannot show up in physical and astronomical science such men as Galilei, Newton and Kepler. In a private note I called his attention to the fact that Kepler was a German. He admitted his mistake with the excuse that he intended to say in that sentence "Prussians" instead of

"Germans." That mistake was on a par with another historical mistake that rushed into print. A certain writer called *Deutschland*, *Deutschland über Alles* "a new catchy song, a product of the new German empire," with the implication that the words meant Germany is to take everything. I informed the writer, that the author of the song, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, lived in the time before the new German Empire came into existence, and had even undergone punishment for his political opinions from the side of a narrow government, and that the implication attached to the words rested on a false knowledge of German. But enough of examples of defective historical information. I ought not to take away too much of the space allotted to me.

The Greek language had long ago, before the Romans came into power, been spread along the coasts of the Mediterranean, in Italy, Sicily, Gaul, Spain, North Africa, through colonies sent out by the Greeks, besides those established on the coasts of Asia Minor, Thrace and the coasts of the Euxine. Through the conquests of Asia and Egypt by Alexander the Great and his successors the Greek language had also spread more inland, through colonies established and cities built everywhere by Greeks, even to the confines of India. Greek had become a sort of universal language even among non-Greeks, serving as a medium of intercourse between these peoples. Not even the most exclusive peoples, as the Jews in Palestine, could escape the contact of the Greek language, on account of the numerous Greek cities on the northern borders of Palestine, the district of the Decapolis, and on account of Alexandria, Egypt, between which and Palestine there was always a continuous intercourse. Nor even the most exclusive classes, as the Babylonian priests and theologians could escape the knowledge of Greek. Berossus wrote the Babylonian traditions in Greek, and the Jewish priests and theologians translated their sacred books into the language which was not only the international one but also the language of learning. If they wished to be heard, they had to write in Greek, for "a Greek work," as Mommsen says in his Roman history, "found an entirely different (and we might add a greater) public than a Latin one." In later times similarly two other Jews, likewise of priestly extraction, Philo and Josephus, wrote their works in Greek. Now what was the attitude the Romans took toward this wide-spread language among their subjects? While they extended the Latin language and civilization among the conquered Italian peoples of kindred stock, and among the Iberic and Celtic barbarian peoples through Roman colonies and garrisons and

Roman law, they did not touch the Hellenic language and civilization in the many Greek cities of Italy, Sicily, Gaul and Spain, though they were incorporated into the empire. Greek in these cities had the same right as Latin. There was many a city *bilinguis*, as Horace calls Canusium, founded by the Greeks in Apulia (*Sat.* I. 10, 30), in Italy, Sicily, Gaul and Spain. Even after the downfall of the Western empire, Greek was still spoken in Tarentum, though it had long ago been made a Roman colony, and it was long one of the chief strongholds of the Byzantine empire in the South of Italy. (Smith, *Classical Dictionary*, 1871, art. "Tarentum.")

But not only did the Romans not repress the Greek language and civilization in the West, but in such countries as Asia Minor, where Greek was especially much spoken, Roman governors even gave judicial decisions in Greek, and even in the several Greek dialects, not only the common Greek, as Mommsen gives an especial case. Foreign ambassadors were allowed to address the proud Roman Senate in Greek, a proof how tolerant the Romans were toward Greek and how they themselves took pains to acquire Greek, and that this language was considered by them as a language fully equal to their own. For all these statements and many following I refer to *Römische Geschichte* (Vol. II, chaps. 12 and 13, and Vol. III, chaps. 11 and 12, Berlin, 1857), by Theodore Mommsen, one of the greatest authorities, if not the greatest, on Roman history. It is well known that he spent his whole lifetime mainly in Roman historical research.

As further examples that cases were brought before the Roman governors in Greek, I quote the trial of Paul before Festus and Felix. Paul pleaded in Greek, while, on the other hand, Josephus during the time of one of these governors, Felix, pleaded the case of certain fellow priests before the Roman Emperor (Josephus, *Life* § 3) likewise very probably in Greek, for Latin was practically little known and spoken in the East, while Rome, as Mommsen says, was swarming with Greek slaves, literati, instructors and lecturers, and Greek therefore heard almost as much as Latin. The same was probably the case when Philo headed an embassy from Alexandria to Caligula, in order to procure a revocation of the decree which exacted from the Jews divine honors to the statue of the emperor, as foreign embassies were allowed to speak in Greek. The Hellenic civilization was acknowledged as throughout equal to the Roman, yes earlier and better privileged, as Mommsen says. The same historian writes: "It is a wonderful accident that the same man who definitely conquered the Hellenic nation.

Lucius Aemilius Paullus, was at the same time one of the first who fully acknowledged the Hellenic civilization as being that, which it has since then uncontradictorily remained, the civilization of the ancient world."

The study of Greek was encouraged in every way at Rome, besides the many opportunities to hear Greek every day. For an educated Greek slave as much as \$14,000 was paid. It was not only a fashion or fad, that to Greek studies such a preponderance was given, but a necessity, for in the departments of philosophy, science, art, literature, rhetoric, history, the Greeks were everywhere the masters and the Romans the learners. Latin literature was at all times essentially dependent upon Greek school education and remained so. Whoever wanted to amount to something, heard Greek philosophy in Athens and Greek rhetoric in Rhodes, and made a literary journey through Asia Minor. Cæsar gave the citizenship to all teachers of the free sciences and to all physicians of the capital, and these were mainly Greek. He further decided on founding a public Greek and Roman library in Rome and appointed as head librarian the most learned Roman of his time, Marcus Varro. "We unmistakably see in this the purpose," says Mommsen, "to unite with the world-monarchy also the world-literature."

The letters written in that time show to what extent Greek words and phrases had penetrated the conversational language. In spite of the modern purism, which expelled all foreign words from poetry, Lucretius, as Ennius had done, rather uses the Greek term, instead of a weak and unclear Latin word. The house of Lucullus and other Romans of rank was almost like the Alexandrian *Museion*: a seat of Greek culture, and a gathering-place of Greek literati: every educated man, and especially every Greek, was welcome.

And not only in Rome was Greek encouraged, but even in inland Spain, and on the borders of the empire. In Spain we find noted Greek instructors settled on the Guadalquivir and in the school of Osca. Where the Roman legionary came, the Greek schoolmaster followed, in his way not less a conqueror. "The higher Roman education itself," says Mommsen, "was indeed throughout nothing else but the preaching of the great gospel of Hellenism in the Italian idiom." The Middle Ages, when the knowledge of Greek had been almost entirely lost in western Europe, would have been barren in thought in many respects if Greek knowledge and thought had not been transmitted to them in some extent through the medium of the Latin. Because the Romans not only encouraged Hellenism in Rome but also on the borders of the em-

pire, "the Greeks, therefore, everywhere saw in Rome," as Mommsen puts it, "the shield of Hellenism, and most decidedly just there where national feeling was the purest and strongest, that is on the borders, threatened by barbarian denationalization, for example in Massalia, on the northern coast of the Euxine, on the Euphrates and Tigris. In fact, the founding of cities in the far East by Pompey took up the work of Alexander after centuries of interruption. The Roman Empire was an Italian-Hellenic empire with two languages. Cæsar promulgated every enactment in Latin, but for the Greek-speaking countries besides in Greek. "It was a Greek historian, Polybius, who portrayed the position of Rome in such a way," says Mommsen, "that all later generations, and we also, are indebted to him for all that is best, which we know about the development of Rome. He comprehended Rome's historical mission more clearly than the Romans of that time themselves could do it. He rather alone saw the streams, which had flown separately so long, join in one bed, and the history of the Mediterranean states go together in the one leading position of Roman power and Greek civilization."

The part which Greek played in the empire till up to the time of Cæsar did not wane after him. History teaches that it continued. Macenas, Horace, the emperors Tiberius, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius, Pliny the younger, and a host of others, all were well acquainted with Greek literature, and even used Greek very well themselves.

From all the foregoing we see that the otherwise haughty Roman conqueror could not be accused of being illiberal and intolerant to his Greek subjects. In many respects he had to acknowledge the superiority of Hellenism, so that occasionally exponents of it, as Polybius, were even envied by such men as Scipio Aemilianus, who otherwise valued him, as altogether did the first men in Rome.

In certain respects we may even speak of a reign of the Greeks over the Romans, says Mommsen. He remarks that the reign of the Greek footman over the Roman monarchs is as old as the monarchy. The first one of these individuals is the intimate servant of Pompey, Theophanes of Mitylene, who, through his power over his weak master, has probably contributed more than any one else to the war between Pompey and Cæsar. It was the Greek footman who introduced the reign of the gentleman of the privy chamber of the times of the emperors.

But aside from this evil influence over the Roman monarchs,

it was a blessing for the world that the Roman victory did not proscribe the Greek muses in Rome, thus continuing the ill feeling between the vanquished and the victor, in this way showing more tolerance than does the modern world and even our own country. It repaid the Roman that he did not stretch his nationalism too far, but opened his mind to everything that was valuable in Hellenism, thus escaping the dangers of a onesided civilization inimical to true humanity.

## THREE POEMS.

BY GUY BOGART.

I strolled with my soul through the close  
Of slumbering summer at rest ;  
Felt soft songs of silence, heard fountains.  
Blooms purple, bright gold or old rose  
In pageant triumphant made quest  
O'er flower-flecked velvet of sod.  
I paused on the hilltop, while dreams  
Made chord with my heart song of love—  
Veiled vistas clasped hand with far mountains ;  
Hills, valleys, fields, forests, bright streams  
Glowed glad 'neath soft skies arched above—  
My soul, tuned with Love, breathed "God."

\* \* \*

Humanism !  
Next step in progress.  
Slowly through millenniums of toil  
Man has pursued his godward path :  
Best of every age preserved  
In each succeeding stage.  
The good of most primitive time  
Is bulwark of the best to-day.

Savagery developed man  
And passed.  
Barbarism saw man  
Farther on his way  
And passed.  
There is much good in each system,  
Each the best

Man could grasp at the time,  
 Humanism!  
 Heir of all good of all time,  
 Purged of evils that have held,  
 Man from his heritage,  
 With the new world comes  
     Meekness  
     That shall inherit the earth.  
 With the new race comes end of  
     Oppression  
     And claims of rights and privileges  
 Love will be possible  
 And democracy nearer;  
 Spirits shall mingle freely with earth-dwellers  
 And the barrier called death  
 Shall lose all power  
     In days of the new mysticism.  
 Our oneness with the universe  
 And growth in understanding  
 Will make brothers of us all,  
 While organizations and institutions  
 Will cease their tyrannous rule  
 When we come into the light  
 Of Understanding;  
 For in that hour has Humanism come.

\* \* \*

Man the master  
 Becomes the servant;  
 Man the god  
 Becomes the slave,  
 Because  
 Man the creator  
 Worships that his hands have wrought.  
 God created heaven and earth  
 And fulness thereof,  
 Man is god-soul,  
 Co-worker,  
     Co-creator,  
     With the Infinite.  
 God created men  
 And man forgot God.



Man created conceptions of God,  
 Fantastic, fierce, anthropomorphic,  
 And straightway worshiped what he had made.  
 Tree-dweller and cave-man, he  
 Groped his way to godward heights.  
 Came fire,  
     And man worshiped  
     What he had discovered.  
 Came the home  
     And man became the servant  
     To an institution he had builded.  
 Church, school, factory, State—  
 All builded by man—  
 Have  
     Hounded  
     Him to hell.  
 Fetishes,  
 Bugaboos,  
 All belittling, dominate man,  
 While the Frankenstein creations of his own mind  
 Pursue him to destruction.  
 Use, O man!  
 The handiwork of your creation.  
 Bow not before your institutions and creeds.  
     They were made by a young race  
     As crutches ere a few sensed power  
     To rise above child-fears of primitive ignorance.  
 These institutions you constructed  
 Were—and are—but tools.  
 Not one is sacred.  
 Cast with the crumbling relics  
 Of post-evolutionary débris  
 Those which serve not humanism.  
 A new age I proclaim  
 When humanism prevails,  
 When institutions serve man  
 And man serves not one institution.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### INTELLECTUALISM AND MORAL EVOLUTION.

Certain reviewers have properly emphasized the essential thesis, or moral, of Mr. H. G. Wells's extraordinary, if superficial, *Outline of History*, while refraining from just and necessary criticism of that thesis. Mr. Wells is an intellectualist. He seems to have profound faith in mere knowledge, in science. He is a "collectivist" of the Fabian school, or evolutionary type, and he believes that ignorance and error are the chief obstacles to human and social progress. In particular, Mr. Wells deplors the harmful effects of popular ignorance of history. What ails lame, blind, halting humanity is the lack of a common tradition, he affirms, and the failure to realize that we are all members of one another, and that our salvation lies in brotherhood—the spirit of unselfish service.

To quote one of the most striking passages in *The Outline*:

"There can be no common peace and prosperity without common historical ideas. . . . Our internal policies and our economic and social ideals are profoundly vitiated by wrong and fantastic ideas of the origin and historical relationship of social classes. A sense of history as the common adventure of all mankind is as necessary for peace within as it is for peace between the nations."

What basis, we may ask, is there in history, in psychology, in sociology, or in our own direct experience, for these very positive, far-reaching affirmations?

For more than nineteen centuries the Christian Church has preached the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of men. Assuredly this preaching has been inspired by the sense of history as the common adventure of all mankind and the solemn responsibility of each for all and all for each. No organization in the world has a deeper sense of history as the common adventure of all mankind than the Catholic, or "Universal," Church. Yet what is the condition of the civilized and Christian world to-day?

Moreover, if ignorance of the past were the root of all modern social and international ills, the educated, cultivated elements would naturally exhibit more unity, more solidarity, than the illiterate and vulgar. What are the facts? Are the educated persons in any country, or in the world at large, in agreement concerning any difficult economic, social or political problem? Were the German intellectuals and professors less prejudiced and blind in the critical days of 1914, when Junkerdom demanded war in the name of German and Austrian honor and prestige, though neither was affronted, than was the populace generally? How many of the educated Germans saw the situation steadily and

whole at that juncture? Did a sense of history as the common adventure of all mankind tend to clear their minds of cant and poison?

Was there ever a time in history when special privilege, injustice, wrong, narrow and bigoted forms of nationalism, were not supported by educated and cultivated men? The defenders of religious and racial persecutions, the champions of slavery, the apologists for anti-social monopoly have not been deficient in education. Hatred, malice, vanity and arrogance are not the especial vices of the ignorant. Intellectual education, with any amount of history thrown in, does not purge the human heart or substitute sweet reasonableness for passion and sentiment.

Is it necessary to cite authorities on the question at issue? If so, the embarrassment that faces one is the proverbial embarrassment of riches. From St. Paul down to Spencer, John Morley, Anatole France, all serious thinkers have contended that intellectual culture alone will never insure moral and social progress.

"The love of money is the root of all evil," said St. Paul. Dante, no mean psychologist, found the root of human evil in greed, pride and ambition. Herbert Spencer called the intellect a tool of the emotional nature and always stressed the need of educating the heart, the emotions. John Morley, in his *Notes on History*, argues that each school of thought draws from history what lessons or morals it finds suitable and convenient for its own purposes; that the same event is interpreted in different ways by different partisans or doctrinaires. Lord Macaulay says somewhere that if the law of gravitation were deemed to be inimical to any considerable material interest, there would not be wanting arguments against it. Anatole France, who has recently declared himself a disciple of Lenin and a convert of Russian sovietism and communism, insists repeatedly in his critical essays that "passions and sentiments," not ideas and knowledge, govern mankind. By passions and sentiments he means racial and national and class hatreds, prejudices, antipathies, appetites, desires, and the like.

Is it not true, then, that, in Mr. Wells' words, the history of mankind has been a race between education and catastrophe? Yes, it is true, and it is equally and sadly true that, as a rule, catastrophe has won. Revolutions, civil wars, wars of aggression, famines, economic crises—all these episodes in human history show that humanity learns only in the school of bitter experience, learns slowly and imperfectly even in that school, and too easily forgets its lessons. Too many of us—more than one is apt to imagine—are Bourbons—persons who resist necessary and inevitable change until a terrible explosion occurs. Would the study of history change the nature and the mental habits of the Bourbons among us?

Education is indeed the only preventive of catastrophe, but the knowledge of the past is but a small part of the education that can save humanity from avoidable catastrophes in the future. The education chiefly needed is social, moral, practical. We must seek to understand one another, to grasp each other's point of view, to sympathize with one another's difficulties and troubles, to recognize each other's honesty, sincerity, and right to his opinion. Capital and labor will get rid of many of the obstacles in the way of harmonious industrial relations by taking counsel together; by conferring and learning to know each other's needs and anxieties; by establishing direct and intimate contacts. In America we have no classes, and no wrong or ridiculous notions

concerning the origin of social distinctions and divisions. We know that the employer of to-day is often the laborer of yesterday and that the servant of to-day may be the master or boss of to-morrow. We have no aristocracy, and we have no superstitious reverence for our plutocracy. Yet do we know one another, do we seek to understand one another, to remove barriers of station, condition, education, race?

We moderns face certain grave and great problems. Not all of us realize this fact. The first step in education is to bring that fact home to many of those who, though capable of understanding, are indifferent, complacent, ignorant, cynical. The second step is to cooperate systematically in working out the solutions of our problems, cooperate in a hundred different ways, formal and informal. Community centers, neighborhood forums, conferences, symposia, church and club discussions, newspaper publicity—these are some of the means of attaining the end in view—solutions of grave menacing, by mutual accommodation, timely compromises, wise adjustments.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

DR. S. MENDELSON'S "THE ARTERIAL FUNCTION ETC. IN ANCIENT RABBINIC WRITINGS."<sup>1</sup>

That the study of ancient Hebrew writings deeply interests and amply rewards any one who has the inclination and the aptitude for it, may be postulated from the fact that so many students, mostly abroad, employ their untiring pens in recording and promulgating the produce of their lucubrations in those musty volumes of the long past; but that it could add much to human knowledge, or in any way correct historical data, twentieth century scholarship is loath to believe. Demurring against the "bookworm's" claim to recognition, the prejudiced critic dismisses him with the sixteenth century anecdote which relates of a Rabbi in some out of the way place, who when told of the discovery of America, after a few minutes cogitation, naively remarked: "No! it is not true; it cannot be true, for the Talmud knows of no such continent!"

Hence it may be with more curiosity than predilection that one will open Dr. Mendelsohn's pamphlet and apathetically start to turn its leaves; but before progressing beyond the first fifty lines, his curiosity will become interest and his apathy will give place to eagerness. He will not lay it down before reading it through; and having read it through and digested the wealth of information crowded into it, he will unhesitatingly subscribe to Huxley's dictum, quoted by our author (p. 26): "That the science of former days is not so despicable as some think; and that, however foolish undue respect for the wisdom of the ancients may be, undue respect for it may be still more reprehensible,"—a dictum which is abundantly demonstrated in the pages of the modest publication before us.

The author's primary object is to prove that, notwithstanding the doctrine of their contemporary physiologists: *Spiritus ex pulmone in cor recipitur et per arterias distribuitur* (Cicero *De Nat. Deorum* II ss), the ancient Rabbis in Palestine and in Babylonia maintained that the arteries are not air tubes (*arteria*), but blood-carriers; and that, owing to the anastomosis between all arteries and veins, the perforation of the *weridin* (carotids) lets out all the

<sup>1</sup> "Die Funktion der Pulsadern und der Kreislauf des Blutes in altrabbinischer Literatur," von Dr. S. Mendelsohn. *Jenaer Medizin-historische Beiträge*, No. 11. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1920. 26 pages.

blood from the animal (p. 19f). But while this is his main object, he incidentally corrects many errors in the chronology of scientific discoveries or inventions. For example, he shows that periodicity of comets was known 1500 years before the advent of Newton, and that the use of a crude telescope dates from about the same period (p. 6). These and many other inventions and discoveries, which we have learned to credit to scientists of comparatively late times, he shows, were familiar to the doctors of the Talmud; and the fact that they are spoken of in that stupendous collection of Rabbinical writings the final redaction of which closed about 500 C. E., he rightly adduces as palpable evidence of their high antiquity (*loc. cit.* n. 3).

Considering that, as our author admits (p. 7), the ancient Rabbis delved into the secrets of nature, not with a view of becoming professional anatomists or physiologists, astronomers or geometricians, but with the sense that familiarity with the sciences would aid them in mastering their specialties—religion, ritualism, law; that in fact, one of those Rabbis who was a prodigious mathematician in his age, plainly expressed himself to this effect, saying: "The laws concerning bird-sacrifices and incipient uncleanness are nomological elements, while astronomy and geometry are mere (relishes, appetizers) auxiliaries of wisdom" (p. 6, n. 3),—the attribution to them of high scientific attainments may be astonishing, doubt provoking. However, our author vindicates his claims by numerous quotations from the Talmud and coeval writings. He proves his statements not by ambiguous references and specious constructions of their casual remarks, but by their enactments and actions, arguing on the principle: *Acta exteriore indicant interiore secreta*, and he shows that their practice was the eventuation of their scientific investigation and experimentation. In short, Dr. Mendelsohn's effort shows wonderful learning and is very interesting. His conclusions are perfectly convincing. Carefully pondering them must result in the reader's verdict that the case is gained for the ancient Hebrew teachers, though comparatively late scientists enjoy the plaudits as pioneers.

L. G.

#### BOOK REVIEWS.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GERMAN CARNIVAL COMEDY. By Maximilian J. Rudwin, Ph. D. New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1920. Pp. xii+85.

The author of the book under review, a frequent contributor to *The Open Court*, is favorably known to medieval scholars through a number of researches on the German religious drama (cf. *The Open Court*, Vol. XXXI, 1917, pp. 444-6). He has now followed up his studies on the sacred drama with a monograph on the secular drama. Of the two types of medieval drama, the sacred has almost eclipsed the secular in our interest. While much research has been carried on to further our knowledge of the origin and development of the ecclesiastical plays, the popular plays have received but scant attention from the historians of the drama.

The purpose of this book is to show the growth of the Carnival comedy, the form which the secular drama assumed in medieval Germany, from its earliest beginnings to its culmination in the *Fastnachtsspiele* of Hans Sachs. It is generally assumed that the secular plays grew out of the comical scenes

which had early been introduced into the serious plays. Dr. Rudwin claims an independent origin for the comedy. Just as the Church drama developed out of Christian worship, so the secular drama, the author maintains, originated in the heathen ritual. He then attempts to reconstruct the ancient pagan rites out of the few fragments which have persisted until the present day among the European peasants. He proceeds in much the same way as a scientist reconstructs a dinosaur from the most meagre osseous remains. It is a most ingenious work; and what surprising analogies the pagan beliefs and practices show to Christian creed and cult! This part of the book will interest chiefly the students of the history of religion.

The Carnival, the author maintains, was not instituted by the Church. It is of pagan origin. The word "carnival" is not derived, as is generally assumed, from Latin *carnem levare*, the removal of flesh as food, but from *carrus navalis*, the ship-cart, which played a very important part in Carnival processions for centuries, and which may still be seen in the modern float. The ship had no relation to the sea, but was a symbol of femininity and hence of productivity. In addition to this ceremony were other charms intended to bring about, through "mimetic" magic, the revival of the earth—the death and resurrection of the fertility god, the burning or burying in effigy of Death or Winter, the bringing in of Life or Summer in a tree or branch procession, and the like. In all these magical rites we see the elements of drama, for the leaf-clad mummer is impersonating the vegetation demon. This masked performer the author considers as the originator of the rough and ready comedy of contemporary men and manners. Very soon the ritual acts, it is claimed, were supplemented by comical scenes in which certain individuals among the spectators were imitated.

The Carnival comedy is of country origin, but developed as an art when it later came into the hands of the burghers. In the course of its development it absorbed all the *ludi* of the Feast of Fools and of the Feast of Boys, the *spectacula* of the medieval minstrel, the successor to the Roman *minus* on the one hand and the Germanic *scôp* on the other, and was moreover influenced in its literary form by the Church play. This influence, however, was mutual. The sacred and secular plays of the Middle Ages influenced each other to such a degree that it is very difficult to state in definite terms on which side was the greater debt. The similarities between the two types of medieval drama became so great toward the end of the fifteenth century that they imperceptibly merged into each other. To draw a well-defined line of demarcation between the two would thus be a difficult task.

The author himself thus realizes because of lack of sufficient data, the difficulty of determining the priority and relation of the two types of medieval drama, and he frankly admits, in the Preface, the hypothetical nature of his theory. It must, however, be conceded that his theory is not only original and interesting, but also plausible. Withal the book is well worth reading. It is an acute and accurate study of Carnival custom and comedy in Europe, and a definite contribution not only to the history of the drama, but also to the study of comparative mythology and religion, to anthropology and ethnology.

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